

THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS
OF RURAL TRADESPEOPLE IN SCOTLAND

With specific reference to Lowland Perthshire,
c.1750 - c.1950.

Volume II.

Bibliography and appendices.

CRAIG YOUNG

PhD

University of Edinburgh

1990



CONTENTS Volume II

CHAPTER FIVE: Small scale production and the credit system in Lowland Perth- shire, 1850-1914281

5.1 INTRODUCTION	281
5.2 CREDIT AND THE ORIGIN OF THE BUSINESS	283
5.3 THE COMPOSITION OF CREDITORS	287
5.3.1 All craft firms	291
5.3.2 Shoemaking	294
5.3.3 Innkeeping	296
5.3.4 Building	299
5.3.5 Coach and cabinet making	302
5.3.6 Woodworking	304
5.3.7 Baking	306
5.3.8 Conclusions on the pattern of credit provision	308
5.4 TRADE CREDIT AND PRODUCTION	309
5.5 THE SPATIAL AVAILABILITY OF CREDIT	322
5.5.1 Shoemaking	326
5.5.2 Innkeeping	331
5.5.3 Building	336
5.5.4 Woodworking, coach and cabinet making	339
5.5.5 Baking	343
5.6 CONCLUSION	345

CHAPTER SIX: Family, household and production in nineteenth century Lowland Perth- shire361

6.1 INTRODUCTION	361
6.2 PATTERNS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION THROUGH MARRIAGE	364
6.3 FAMILY SIZE	381
6.4 FAMILY STRUCTURE	391
6.5 FAMILY OCCUPATIONS	397
6.6 WOMEN'S WORK AND FAMILY OCCUPATIONS	415
6.7 LODGING	434
6.8 CONCLUSION	440

CHAPTER SEVEN: The social milieu of the rural trades in nineteenth century Lowland Perthshire	450
7.1 INTRODUCTION	450
7.2 TRADESPEOPLE IN THE LOCAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE	452
7.3 GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY	461
7.4 SERVANT HOLDING	483
7.5 SOCIAL RELATIONS AND THE CREDIT SYSTEM ...	490
7.6 FORMAL ORGANISATION AMONG TRADESMEN	499
7.7 INVOLVEMENT IN LOCAL AFFAIRS	521
7.8 CONCLUSION	538
CHAPTER EIGHT: Conclusion	546
BIBLIOGRAPHY	557
APPENDIX I: An assessment of Scottish Sequest- rations as a source in historical analysis	573
APPENDIX II: GEOLINK mask file and example GIMMS command file	606
APPENDIX III: Multiple occupations	613
APPENDIX IV: Markets of craft firms	616
APPENDIX V: Age:sex structure of occupational groups in 1851	640
APPENDIX VI: Publications	653

Chapter Five

Small scale production and the credit system in Lowland Perthshire, 1850-1914

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to examine specific issues regarding the involvement of rural, small scale craft producers in Lowland Perthshire in the credit system. As has been noted of rural Scotland, though in an earlier context,

"the extent to which credit was available, the forms that it took and the sources from which it came may tell us a great deal about social conditions...and highlight the economic constraints within which rural society operated."¹

The social relationships revolving around the credit system are analysed in Chapter Seven (Section 7.5), and this chapter focuses on its economic and spatial characteristics.

The analysis presented is based upon the sample drawn from the sequestration processes. Thus the conclusions drawn apply to a particular stratum of firms, as established in Chapter Two (Section 2.3.4), and should not be taken as representative of the business community as a whole.

As indicated in Chapter Two, the firms to be

¹ Whyte, I.D. and Whyte, K.A. 1989 "Debt and Credit, Poverty and Prosperity in a Seventeenth-Century Scottish Rural Community" in Mitchison, R. and Roebuck, P. (eds.) *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500-1939*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. p. 70.

discussed here were of a small to medium size in terms of the amount of capital employed. The source is not strong on information on the very small or very large firms. However, as has been argued, the source does represent a numerically superior group, and one which was important in the local economy and local capital formation. In particular the sequestrations do represent a complex suite of firms, with the virtue of variety offering a range of qualitative insights. Hence this analysis does have quite widespread applicability with regard to the study of the business community.

21/ Section 5.2 examines the importance of the role of credit in the origin of the business, and identifies which of the various types of capital provision was most important in the initiation of production. The importance of a period of waged employment previous to setting up in business is established, with input from the family the next most important source of start-up capital.

The following section (5.3), examines the composition of the creditors of the firms when in production. Here trade credit is identified as the most important type of credit provision, and this is shown to be true across a range of sectors. Following upon this conclusion the rest of the chapter focuses upon the role played by trade credit. Section 5.4 considers the provision of trade credit as an enabling force in

production. In addition, through a consideration of the concept of credit dependency, credit as a restraint upon production is also considered, both through the unequal economic relationship between creditor and debtor, and due to the allowance of credit to customers by tradespeople.

Section 5.5 addresses the spatial aspects of the credit system. The spatial patterns of the availability of trade credit are presented by sector, and credit provision is related to the spatial distribution of production. Changes in the provision of credit over time are outlined where appropriate, and sectors are contrasted.

The conclusion (Section 5.6) summarises the main points of the chapter. It then goes on to suggest further topics which need consideration in order to gain a full understanding of the credit system, particularly regarding the mechanisms of the system. An examination of the motives behind granting or accepting credit concludes the chapter, and relates this point to different interpretations of the overall operation of the credit system.

5.2 CREDIT AND THE ORIGIN OF THE BUSINESS

At this stage it is relevant to assess the importance of the various sources of capital in the origin of these businesses. One of the most basic contexts in which it is possible to evaluate the enabling role of

credit in production is to assess its role in the provision of start-up capital. By start-up capital is meant the capital necessary for the initial stock, plant, buildings and wages required for any business.

As has been previously shown (Chapter Four, Section 4.4) the values of the start capitals were small, which is consistent with the economic characteristics of the firms in the sequestration cases. The mean value of the start capitals of these firms was £138 (n=46), with a range of a few pounds to £500.

Figure 5.1 shows the origins of start-up capital for seventy eight firms. This took various forms, and in some cases firms drew their start capital from two or more sources. The most important source was that of earnings or savings from a previous period of waged employment (forty one percent). This reinforces the picture of the importance of a period of waged employment preceding the move to self employment (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4), with the need for accumulating a small amount of capital a vital adjunct to gaining skills and knowledge. The second most important source in the origin of these firms was that of cash advances from family members (twenty nine percent). Along with the inheritance of family businesses (five percent) this made the family an important influence in the genesis of the small business (thirty four percent in total).

Figure 5.1

Origins of start capital

<u>Origin</u>	<u>%</u>
Previous earnings/savings	41
Cash from family	29
Cash from other businessmen	9
Credit from merchant	6
Inherited business	5
Cash from friends	5
Credit from bank	4
n=78	

Source: S.R.O., CS318/9.

Other studies have drawn attention to the importance of the family in passing on the resources of petit bourgeois enterprises.² It is important to note the distinction between the family as a source of capital in the form of cash, and as the medium for handing on the family's resources in the form of the family business. Such a pattern ties in with several of the features already noted. It illustrates the fluidity of businesses in the small firm sector, as new businesses are created rather than established ones continued (Chapter Four, Section 4.4). It is not possible to tell to what extent the period of waged employment was carried out within the context of the family business. Nevertheless, it is clear that the origins of many of those owning small businesses lay in the experience of wage labour. This ties in with the picture of greater recruitment of new business owners from this background than from the middle classes (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4; Chapter Six, Section 6.2).

The remaining sources of start-up capital were notably less important. Cash advances from friends or other businesses as a form of investment of their profits or savings were relatively less significant

² Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G. 1984 "Shopkeepers, master artisans and the historian: the petite bourgeoisie in comparative focus" in Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G. (eds.) *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth Century Europe*. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. p. 21.

(five and nine percent respectively). An important point revealed by this analysis was the very small role played by credit, both from merchants and manufacturers (six percent) and from banks (four percent). This was undoubtedly related to the creditworthiness of these new businesses. The lack of availability of security, either in the form of property or guarantors, was a major limiting factor. Robert Littlejohn noted

"my bills were backed by friends not by those with whom I was trading. I got these names on my bills by personal friendship merely."³

Such small enterprises were obviously regarded as too risky by both institutionalised and mercantile creditors. Thus for this level of enterprise personal endeavour and the role of the family as a means of passing on resources were more important factors in the initiation of production than was the supply of credit.

5.3 THE COMPOSITION OF CREDITORS

The sequestration processes also supply information about creditors of the firms at the time of bankruptcy. The information presented in this analysis is distinct from that analysed in the section on start-up capital, and represents credit provision necessary for the running of the firm. The information in the processes is usually in the form of a list of creditors

³ S.R.O. *Concluded Sequestration Processes brought under the 1856 Bankruptcy (Scotland) Act.* CS318/25/307.

comprising their names, occupations/businesses, locations and the amount of credit. This information is not always consistently provided.

The information extracted allows the examination of a number of questions regarding the role of credit in small scale production. Did the family continue to be a major source of finance, as it was in the origin of firms? How important were banks as a source of credit compared to mercantile and manufacturing credit for the small firm? Previous work suggests that, in certain contexts, the provision of trade credit by merchants and manufacturers was a vital enabling factor in small scale production⁴ -to what extent was this true of Lowland Perthshire? Did the landowning and farming classes have a direct financial investment in small scale production? The answers to these questions are vital in understanding the economic circumstances of the craft businesses, and to account for long term changes in the craft sector as they related to national developments in industry.

The problems with using the material in the sequestration cases for this type of analysis fall into two categories. Firstly it is not always possible to

⁴Behagg, C. 1984 "Masters and manufacturers: social values and the smaller unit of production in Birmingham, 1800-50" in Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G., *op cit*, p. 139.

identify the nature of the creditor. However, as Figure 5.2 shows, this is only a problem with fourteen percent of the total creditors, so overall this is not too serious. In two particular instances, however, it is perhaps likely that the problem is more serious. It is possible that the role of farmers in providing capital to these firms is underestimated. It would appear that some information was taken for granted by the individuals involved in the sequestration, and local farmers may have been one group whose surname and place name was all that was recorded in the list of creditors, as they were known to all concerned. This point is also true of the second problematic group, that of individuals. It is likely that among the 'unknown' category there are a number of individuals granting small cash loans as a means of investing savings, but they are usually impossible to identify in the source.

This is connected to the second problem with this analysis, which is that the type of debt cannot always be identified. Creditors could be ranked for cash loans, bills, rent due, goods or services provided, and wages owed to them from the business or trade credit provided. In some cases it is impossible to identify what type of credit has been extended by a creditor. However, for the most part it is safe to assume that where a tradesperson or retailer is ranked it was for

Figure 5.2

Creditors, 1850-1914: all firms¹

<u>Type of creditor</u>	<u>% of total creditors</u>	<u>% of total credit</u>
Banks	3	14
Family	1	6
Farmers	1	4
Landowners	- ²	-
Manufacturers	19	17
Merchants	28	23
Professionals/clergy	3	4
Retailers	10	7
Tradesmen	19	10
Not known	14	14

Total creditors=1346 Total credit=37432

Source: S.R.O., CS318/9.

¹Total number of firms = 53.

²'-' = less than one percent.

goods or services provided. Wages were preferred debts i.e. they had priority over other types of debts when a composition was decided, and as such were noted separately, thus making this assumption more reasonable. Where merchants or manufacturers were ranked it was for the provision of trade credit. In addition to the problem with identifying cash credits from individuals as noted above, the main areas of difficulty here lay in distinguishing the role of professionals - were they investing in the firm or providing services? For the most part it is likely that where, for example, a solicitor or an architect (in the case of a building firm) was ranked as a creditor this was for services performed. These assumptions do mean that this analysis is unable to assess the role of certain groups as investors of capital in small scale production. It therefore seems preferable to regard these data only as representative of the total credit input necessary for production.

The following sections outline the results of this analysis, firstly for all the firms in the sample, and then by sector.

5.3.1 All craft firms

Figure 5.2 presents the percentage importance of each type of creditor with regard to the total number of creditors, and with regard to the amount of credit each type provided. This table shows several features

of credit provision to the small craft firms which are typical across individual sectors, though variation can also be found. The most important feature is that the highest level of credit provision was from merchants and manufacturers, both numerically and in terms of the value of credit provision. This suggests that the provision of trade credit from these groups was the most important enabling factor in production. This pattern contrasts strongly with the origins of start-up capital, which demonstrated that mercantile and manufacturing capital were a relatively rare input. In order to gain trade credit it is likely that firms needed to be fairly well established, and had to present a viable, businesslike image.

Numerically the provision of credit from other craft businesses was equally as important as that from merchants, but in terms of value this was less true. This reflects the nature of this credit provision, typically small-scale claims for work done, either as independent tradespeople, subcontractors or paid employees. Work done to account was a form of credit provision, as was, strictly speaking, working for wages which were paid at long intervals (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.5).

The other types of creditors were less well represented numerically. In the case of the family, farmers, landowners and professionals the value of the

credit advanced was also less significant. The provision of further capital by family members was very low, and this contrasts strongly with funds provided as start-up capital. It is obvious that within the small craft sector most input to production in financial terms was a one-off initial payment. Thus the family was most important in this type of enterprise as a means of initialising a business - a point when trade credit was hard to come by - and less important in later stages when an established firm was obviously seen as more creditworthy by merchants and manufacturers. It is worth noting that in some cases, however, initial loans from family members were not paid off, and here long term credit provision, in some cases interest free, was of continued importance. The agricultural sector and landowners seem to have had little to do with financing production. Agricultural pursuits probably required all available investment, and only the occasional farmer is found investing in these firms.

Common among the professionals providing services to the firms considered here were solicitors. For the most part the use of solicitors was probably related to legal arrangements necessary for the running of the business. As an example, Matthew Dunn, builder, owed Mr. MacRosty, solicitor, £38.13/- for "Law business

performed."⁵ What is not clear, however, is to what extent solicitors formed a part of the mechanism of the credit system, arranging credit transactions, and channeling local investment. Certainly they were to found in such a role on occasion, as a newspaper advertisement of 1870 shows

"To Lend. £500 To Lend on Heritable Security. Apply to David Keay, Solicitor, 37 George Street, Perth."⁶

A characteristic feature of the firms considered here was the lack of funding, either of start-up or working capital, from institutionalised credit sources, such as banks and finance companies. Very few bank loans were given, but they were often fairly large scale, giving an important share of the value of credit advanced to this source.

5.3.2 Shoemaking

The shoemaking sector shares many features in common with the overall characteristics of these firms as presented above (see Figure 5.3). Credit provision is dominated by trade credit from merchants and manufacturers. Both in numbers of creditors and the amount of credit provision the most important source was the boot and shoe manufacturers, which reflects the move from small scale production to retailing as the period progressed (see Section 5.5.1). For example, the firm

⁵ S.R.O., CS318/21/111.

⁶ *Advertiser*, March 3, 1870.

Figure 5.3

Creditors, 1850-1914: shoemaking¹

Type of creditor	% of total creditors		% of total credit		£ total
Banks	2	(4)	2		(101)
Family	-	(1)	-		(40)
Farmers	1	(2)	17		(749)
Landowners	0	(0)	0		(0)
Manufacturers	32	(56)	32		(1503)
- tanners/curriers	4	(7)	3		(133)
- boot/shoe	22	(38)	28		(1282)
- rubber/blacking etc.	2	(4)	-		(42)
- other/not known	4	(7)	1		(46)
Merchants	32	(56)	28		(1324)
- leather	20	(35)	24		(1077)
- boot/shoe	2	(3)	-		(41)
- other/not known	10	(18)	4		(206)
Professional/clergy	3	(6)	3		(140)
Retailers	8	(14)	2		(100)
Tradesmen	9	(17)	5		(235)
Not known	9	(16)	7		(331)

Total creditors=173

Total credit=4531

Source: S.R.O., CS318/9.

¹Total number of firms = 9.

of D. & J. Smith, Glasgow, was supplying ready made goods to John McLauchlan, a shoemaker in Blairgowrie until 1870.⁷ Manufacture still remained an important element, however, as evidenced by the occurrence of leather merchants as the second most numerous creditors. James Murray, for example, was receiving leather from McBride and Logie of Glasgow, Sinclair & Moir of Edinburgh, and McNab's of Dundee.⁸ All the other categories of creditors were fairly unimportant. The retailers supplying goods on credit were commonly ironmongers, probably supplying small amounts of materials, and also tools. An example was the Stirling firm of Virtue & Co. who were supplying goods to Donald McGregor in Killin.⁹ Though only two farmers supplied capital to the firms in the sample, they were involved in fairly large individual investments. David Stewart, a shoemaker in Coupar Angus, was advanced a total of £273 by George Anderson, farmer at New Downie. James Douglas had been advanced a total of £476 by 1861 by Robert Connacher, who farmed at Kincraigie near Dunkeld, and who was also Douglas's uncle.¹⁰

5.3.3 Innkeeping

Figure 5.4 shows the creditors to the innkeeping sector. Unfortunately it was not possible to classify

⁷ S.R.O., CS318/15/295.

⁸ S.R.O., CS318/56/152.

⁹ S.R.O., CS318/43/197.

¹⁰ S.R.O., CS319/60; CS318/9/83.

thirty one percent of the total value of the credit advanced to the firms in this sector. This may have had a distorting effect on the values in this column, so these must be read with caution. Again, however, the dominant feature is the input of credit by merchants and manufacturers. The most important of these were the merchants supplying wine, spirits and speciality foods, and the brewing industry. Wines and spirits were commonly supplied by merchants in the main ports, such as Shields & Co. (wine merchants, Leith) or the Perthshire Wine and Spirit Co. (Perth).¹¹ Speciality foods often had to be obtained from merchants. For example, Margaret Robertson of Dunkeld was obtaining goods on credit from Herbert's Kingston Biscuit Factory, the British and Foreign Mineral Water Co., and Sinclair & Co., ham curers (all of Glasgow).¹² As an example of trade credit supplied by the brewing industry to this sector, Mary Smith's hotel in Muthil received credit from a number of brewers, including Bernard's Ltd. (Edinburgh), Bass and Ind Coope (Burton-on-Trent), R. & D. Sharp (Blackford) and Arrol and Sons (Glasgow).¹³

The pattern of credit provision from the other sectors follows the overall pattern. Credit provision from other tradesmen and retailers is fairly important in this sector, representing work done and goods prov-

¹¹ S.R.O., CS318/6/320.

¹² S.R.O., CS318/40/311.

¹³ S.R.O., CS318/47/339.

Figure 5.4

Creditors, 1850-1914: innkeeping¹

Type of creditor	% of total	creditors no.	% of total credit	£ value
Banks	3	(7)	10	(576)
Family	-	(1)	1	(87)
Farmers	2	(4)	1	(74)
Landowners	1	(3)	2	(102)
Manufacturers	15	(35)	13	(761)
- brewers	12	(28)	10	(594)
- distillers	2	(4)	3	(158)
- other/not known	1	(3)	-	(9)
Merchants	35	(84)	30	(1755)
- wine/spirit/food	14	(34)	16	(940)
- other/not known	21	(50)	14	(815)
Professional/clergy	2	(5)	-	(39)
Retailers	7	(17)	3	(174)
Tradesmen	14	(33)	8	(453)
Not known	18	(43)	31	(1815)

Total creditors=233

Total credit=5841

Source: S.R.O., CS318/9.

¹Total number of firms = 9.

ided necessary for the running of the inns. Again the provision of credit from banks is quite low. The value of credit from this source may have been expected to be higher, given that an inn could have formed a substantial piece of security. Two factors help to explain this situation. Some of these innkeepers leased the property rather than buying it outright, in which case it could not be used as security. In addition, it was more common, among publicans at least, to use the property as security against loans from brewers. An alternative form of security was to take out an insurance policy on the license.¹⁴

5.3.4 Building

The classification of creditors to builders shows a different pattern from the other sectors examined so far (Figure 5.5). The largest amount of credit provision was that advanced by other tradespeople in respect of wages or payment owed for work done. This reflects the importance of sub contracting within the building sector. Matthew Dunn, a builder who became bankrupt in 1872, owed wages to McRorie, Sharp and Carmichael, who were masons, and also Mr. Crerar for smith work.¹⁵ Laing and Scott, masons in Guildtown, owed payment to David Wrighton and Andrew Young (masons), and James

¹⁴ Donnachie, I. 1979 *A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 194-5.

¹⁵ S.R.O., CS318/21/111.

Figure 5.5

Creditors, 1850-1914: building¹

Type of creditor	% of total creditors	total	% of total credit	£ total
Banks	3	(11)	21	(2399)
Family	1	(5)	14	(1630)
Farmers	1	(5)	3	(317)
Landowners	-	(3)	-	(32)
Manufacturers	13	(41)	6	(906)
- lime	2	(6)	-	(95)
- quarriers	4	(12)	2	(266)
- brick/tile/clay/sand	4	(12)	2	(237)
- foundry	2	(7)	2	(285)
- other/not known	1	(4)	-	(23)
Merchants	18	(59)	10	(1157)
- lime/coal/brick	6	(20)	4	(435)
- cement	-	(1)	-	(12)
- wood	2	(6)	-	(74)
- other/not known	10	(32)	6	(636)
Professional/clergy	4	(12)	2	(218)
Retailers	6	(20)	3	(304)
Tradesmen	39	(132)	24	(2811)
Not known	13	(44)	15	(1743)
Total creditors=336		Total credit=11521		

Source: S.R.O., CS318/9.

¹ Total number of firms = 10.

Ritchie and James McKillip (mason's labourers). This firm had taken on a number of men to complete contracts in 1863.¹⁶ Numerically, a picture again emerges of the importance of merchants and manufacturers, in this sector those concerned with the processing and supply of raw materials. Until his failure in 1882 William Lowe was receiving trade credit from the Hilton Clay Works (Alloa), The Cumbernauld Fire Clay Co., Middleton Quarries (Arbroath), and Gillespie's Tile Works in Clackmannan.¹⁷ In this sector, however, credit from banks and the family seemed to be more important in terms of value. In the case of the banks this was undoubtedly related to the fact that builders typically owned their own property, often in addition to their own dwelling house, and this could be used as security. James Smart obtained a loan of £450 from the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1860 using his house as security.¹⁸ The building trade was obviously viewed as one in which returns were seen as being fairly secure, and advances were made on the strength of contracts held. James Reid & Co., received an advance of around £4000 against property they were building in Glasgow in 1875. The profits from this contract were used to build in Dunblane in 1876, against which a £3000 bank loan was

¹⁶ S.R.O., CS318/8/376.

¹⁷ S.R.O., CS318/27/237.

¹⁸ S.R.O., CS318/25/515.

raised.¹⁹ Thomas McIntosh, builder in Blairgowrie, was able to raise over £1000 against his own property from the Bank of Scotland. Again, a current contract was sufficient security to gain further credit:

"when communing with Mr. Duff [bank agent] for the loan of £300 from the Central Bank I made Mr. Duff understand I was behind in the world but I expected if time was accorded me and said loan, and I was remunerated for the Dunalister contract as I expected, I would be able to carry on."²⁰

Credit from retailers was typically from ironmongers, probably for materials and tools. Among the professionals architects were common, probably representing design work carried out.

5.3.5 Coach and cabinet making

This sector again showed a high input in terms of value of credit from banks (Figure 5.6). James McIntosh (coachbuilder) had arranged a loan of £63.18/- from the Bank of Scotland, while Ritchie and Sons (cabinet makers and upholsterers) had borrowed £804 from the bank.²¹ This probably reflected a greater amount of fixed capital necessary in these trades relative to other sectors in terms of stock and plant which could have been used as security. Numerically merchants and manufacturers again were the most important providers of credit, with merchants also the second highest providers in terms of value. In the case of George

¹⁹ S.R.O., CS318/24/481.

²⁰ S.R.O., CS318/8/246.

²¹ S.R.O., CS318/40/264; CS318/39/235.

Figure 5.6

Creditors, 1850-1914: coach/cabinet maker¹

Type of creditor	% of total creditors	no.	% of total credit	£ value
Banks	3	(8)	28	(1372)
Family	2	(5)	9	(419)
Farmers	2	(4)	3	(140)
Landowners	0	(0)	0	(0)
Manufacturers	20	(53)	8	(423)
- axle/wheel maker	-	(2)	-	(23)
- fittings/paint etc.	6	(15)	4	(175)
- founders	2	(6)	-	(29)
- other/not known	12	(30)	4	(196)
Merchants	24	(60)	15	(722)
- spec. ironmonger	2	(4)	2	(81)
- timber	8	(20)	3	(153)
- leather/iron	1	(3)	-	(19)
- other/not known	13	(33)	10	(469)
Professional/clergy	3	(8)	10	(477)
Retailers	14	(34)	4	(207)
Tradesmen	16	(39)	3	(164)
Not known	15	(35)	20	(990)

Total creditors=247

Total credit=4919

Source: S.R.O., CS318/9.

¹Total number of firms = 8.

Goble's coach making business, credit was secured from firms such as Gibson & Son (coach ironmongers, Birmingham), timber merchants, Thornton & Co. (waterproof manufacturers, Edinburgh), Selby & Co. of Birmingham (axle makers), and Ann & Co., paint manufacturers in Glasgow.²² Credit provision in terms of goods and services provided by retailers and those engaged in the trades was also quite significant numerically, probably reflecting the fact that these small firms did not carry out the complete production process (see Section 5.5.4).

5.3.6 Woodworking

The pattern of credit provision to the woodworking sector (including the occupations of joiners, carpenters and wrights) was also examined (Figure 5.7). In terms of value the highest provision of credit was from merchants, particularly wood and timber merchants. Robert Reid's Blairgowrie joinery business was extended trade credit by timber merchants in Dundee (Kirkland & Son), Montrose (Miller & Son) and Blairgowrie itself (Keillor).²³ The other merchants category included those providing materials such as glass or slate. Manufacturers were less important in this sector, but connections to sawmillers and lathers were still significant. Raw materials were obtained on credit by these

²² S.R.O., CS318/33/109.

²³ S.R.O., CS318/16/310.

Figure 5.7

Creditors, 1850-1914: woodworking¹

Type of creditor	% of total creditors		total	% of total credit		£ total
Banks	4		(7)	15		(890)
Family	1		(2)	4		(245)
Farmers	0		(0)	0		(0)
Landowners	0		(0)	0		(0)
Manufacturers	9		(16)	7		(458)
- sawmillers/lathers	7		(13)	7		(415)
- other/not known	2		(3)	-		(43)
Merchants	23		(44)	30		(1891)
- wood/timber	12		(23)	21		(1310)
- other/not known	11		(21)	9		(581)
Professional/clergy	1		(2)	-		(12)
Retailers	15		(28)	13		(787)
Tradesmen	25		(47)	17		(1045)
Not known	20		(37)	10		(630)

Total creditors=185

Total credit=6123

Source: S.R.O., CS318/9.

¹ Joiners, carpenters and wrights. Total number of firms = 9.

firms from such sources as Messrs. Buchan & Son, lath splitters, or Jessiman's Seagate Sawmills, both in Dundee.²⁴ Again subcontracting of other craft workers was important in this sector, due to the involvement of these woodworking trades in the building sector. The joinery firm of Scott & Battison owed money for work done to a stair railer, glazier and painter.²⁵ Provision of credit by banks was of roughly average importance.

5.3.7 Baking

Manufacturers and merchants were again the dominant suppliers of credit in the baking trade (Figure 5.8). Millers were the single most important source of trade credit, with some buying of ready made baked goods occurring. More credit was supplied by large coastal steam mills than local millers. David Jack, for example, obtained flour on credit from Dundee, Glasgow and Alyth. In addition, ready made goods were obtained from MacCall & Steven and Herbert & Co. (biscuit manufacturers, Glasgow), and wholesale confectioners in Glasgow such as Buchannan & Sons or Gray & Co.²⁶ The high value of credit from provision merchants probably reflects a combined element of general retailing in the baking trade. The input from the other sectors was small, though there was obviously some reliance on

²⁴ S.R.O., CS318/25/515; CS318/8/246.

²⁵ S.R.O., CS318/34/333.

²⁶ S.R.O., CS318/34/174.

Figure 5.8

Creditors, 1850-1914: baking¹

Type of creditor	% of total creditors		total	% of total credit		£ total
Banks	2		(3)	8		(379)
Family	3		(5)	8		(335)
Farmers	1		(2)	-		(10)
Landowners	0		(0)	0		(0)
Manufacturers	24		(42)	26		(1195)
- millers	8		(14)	22		(997)
- bread/biscuit makers	9		(16)	2		(94)
- other/not known	7		(12)	2		(104)
Merchants	35		(62)	25		(1100)
- flour	2		(4)	4		(170)
- grain	4		(7)	7		(320)
- provisions	19		(33)	10		(434)
- other/not known	10		(18)	4		(176)
Professional/clergy	6		(10)	8		(387)
Retailers	12		(23)	15		(658)
Tradesmen	8		(13)	5		(239)
Not known	6		(11)	4		(204)

Total creditors=172

Total credit=4497

Source: S.R.O., CS318/9.

¹Total number of firms = 7.

goods supplied by local retailers. 'Other' manufacturers were typically brewers, probably for the supply of yeast, and wholesale chemists and chemical companies. Alexander Mackenzie's bakery business had connections with brewers such as Bass (London), Worthington (Burton), and Wilsher (Dundee), as well as a branch of the Manchester Chemical Co. in Glasgow.²⁷

5.3.8 Conclusions on the pattern of credit provision

The main conclusion that can be drawn from the above analysis is that the provision of trade credit by merchants and manufacturers was the most important form of credit provision for these firms. Trade credit was the major enabling factor in production at this level. As the examples above show, the spatial nature of the provision of trade credit was widespread and varied, and the changing nature of the spatial availability of trade credit is dealt with below (see Section 5.5).

By contrast, the provision of institutionalised credit was unimportant. This latter feature was probably related to the difficulty these small firms had in providing security. Robert Wisley, an Alyth butcher at the turn of the century, ran short of capital but "was unable to raise money on the security offered."²⁸ As was suggested above the ability to gain credit from banks was probably higher in the building and coach and

²⁷ S.R.O., CS318/42/212.

²⁸ S.R.O., CS318/46/401.

cabinet making sectors because they were able to offer more security through buildings, plant, stock and contracts. However, correlating the average assets of each sector with the percentage value of credit gained from banks gives an inconclusive picture. In reality, a plain statement of assets gives little indication of what a firm had to offer as security. Only two sectors showed any consistent pattern. The building sector had the highest average assets (£547, n=14) and the second highest provision of credit from banks (twenty one percent). At the other end of the scale, shoemaking had the second lowest value of average assets (£249, n=10), and the lowest provision of credit from banks (two percent). The existence of the banking system, however, may well have played an important role as part of the *mechanism* of the credit system. Not enough is known of the operation of the credit system - how were contacts between firms established and, in particular, how was payment for goods made? Banks may have played an important part in the transfer of funds, though it is likely that the credit system could have operated without them.

5.4 TRADE CREDIT AND PRODUCTION

The above analysis highlighted the importance of trade credit provided by merchants and manufacturers in small scale production in Lowland Perthshire. Given this, it is important to concentrate on this type of

credit provision and to assess its role in production.

One of the most important issues when considering the role of credit regarding small scale production is the question of credit dependency. Dependence upon large-scale commercial or industrial capital has been cited as a factor which undermined the economic independence of small scale producers and retailers in a number of contexts.²⁹ In nineteenth century Birmingham, the focus of one of the comparative studies available, there was a

"pattern of dependency [upon credit] which characterised the small producer proper."³⁰

As argued in Chapter Four, the small firms of Lowland Perthshire differed from those in the studies cited here in that they retained control over the marketing of their own products, rather than producing for merchants (for distribution to a wider market) or as a stage in factory production. However, as has been shown, the supply of trade credit from merchants and manufacturers was a vital enabling factor in production for these small firms (see Section 5.3). Dependency upon credit also had an important influence on the

²⁹ Behagg, *op cit*, p. 142; Blackbourn, D. 1984 "Between resignation and volatility: the German petite bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century" in Crossick and Haupt, *op cit*, p. 43; Knox, E. 1986 "Between capital and labour: the petite bourgeoisie in Victorian Edinburgh" *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, University of Edinburgh. pp. 57, 253-4.

³⁰ Behagg, *op cit*, p. 142.

economic standing of these firms (see below). Thus it is still important to consider the operations of industrial and mercantile capital in relation to rural production. In particular, it is necessary to consider the nature of the relationship between large scale units of production and distribution, and the small scale rural producers and retailers.

However, it is important to define carefully what is meant by credit dependency. In this study credit dependency is seen as a measure of the degree of reliance upon credit, and this is discussed further below. The supply of trade credit was a vital enabling factor in production for these firms, but it was not one which necessarily typified small scale production in this area. In reality, credit provision was necessary for production at all levels of enterprise, and across all sectors. Two points distinguished the use of credit in production by these small scale enterprises from larger scale concerns: the reasons for obtaining credit, and the need for extended credit.

Even in large scale concerns, credit was a vital enabling factor in production. Thus to say that a dependency upon credit was characteristic only of small scale production would be misleading in this particular case. Even in the textile industry, for example, typified by large scale units of production and high fixed capital investment, credit was used extensively in lieu

of circulating capital. However, this use of credit was particularly to cope with the long time lags between purchasing raw materials and selling finished goods.³¹ Within the small scale firms examined here, trade credit was the most important type of credit used, also in lieu of circulating capital. Some measure of the ratio of credit used to fixed capital would be an interesting measure of credit dependency. In the absence of such data, a consideration of the qualitative evidence in the sequestrations is illuminating. As noted above, credit dependency is a measure of the degree of reliance upon credit. While the textile industry could not function without it, credit probably formed a small proportion of the total circulating capital in that case. However, within small scale production trade credit played a more vital role, and allowed firms which were struggling with a lack of circulating capital, for all purposes and not just raw materials, to continue in existence.

The analysis above (Section 5.3) has demonstrated the importance of trade credit in production, and it is also possible to introduce qualitative evidence in support of this statement, and to show why it was so necessary. The actual establishment of credit linkages, and the need for credit, was due to a large extent to

³¹ Lenman, B. 1977 *An Economic History of Modern Scotland*. B.T. Batsford Ltd., London. p. 91.

the under-capitalisation of these firms, particularly a lack of circulating capital. Thus, of the start of his business Andrew Haggart, a joiner and boat builder, noted that

"I made all my payments in cash. I had no sooner got money than I had to part with it."³²

The realities of production at this level were often those of the experience of one clothier and grocer, who stated in 1867

"I made no profit as I worked cheap and had to renew bills and pay discounts...I often told creditors that I had no money to meet their claims."³³

Thus lack of circulating capital led to a need for credit. As Norman Chapman, a watchmaker in Aberfeldy, noted in 1899

"I may explain that I had always to get my goods on credit not having sufficient capital to meet claims when they fell due."³⁴

John Beckett, another watchmaker, ran his business entirely on credit.³⁵

Credit was either necessary from the start of the enterprise, or gradually became more important over time. Following his discharge from one bankruptcy, Donald McGregor (bootmaker) received goods on credit to start again. He stated

"Melvin Brothers wrote me to come to Glasgow to see them, and I went there, and they offered me all the

³² S.R.O., CS318/45/125.

³³ S.R.O., CS318/13/326.

³⁴ S.R.O., CS318/46/59.

³⁵ S.R.O., CS318/22/27.

stuff I required, provided I signed bills for them."³⁶

The use of credit was in most cases established over time. This either reflected exhaustion of capital, or the necessity of running a seemingly viable business before credit was granted by the merchant. Thomas Graham, a baker and grocer, stated that at the start

"my business was not good for the first year. I generally paid cash at first, but before the first twelve months were out I began to get credit."³⁷

Credit provision could go beyond the supply of goods to the renewal of bills due, which can be referred to as extended credit. An important feature of this type of enterprise may have been a dependence upon extended credit. The question is one of the degree of indebtedness. A distinction can be drawn between trade credit as deferred payment and credit upon which interest is charged. Deferred payment involves the non-payment for goods or services 'bought' at the time of transaction, and was usually an interest free loan. If, however, an outstanding payment was not cleared then interest was usually charged. Prior to the inclusion of an interest charge the debtor merely owes the seller the agreed value of the goods i.e. she or he is using credit. However, if this is not paid within the credit period it can lead to a further and continuously increasing debt, requiring the extension of credit

³⁶ S.R.O., CS318/43/197.

³⁷ S.R.O., CS318/11/97.

facilities.³⁸ In effect, the use of extended credit may have represented one of the first stages of financial difficulties within a business.

These small scale enterprises may have been very dependent upon extended credit. Unfortunately no indication is given regarding how old the liabilities recorded in the sequestrations were, and so evidence is limited. One clothier/grocer noted that he had to "renew bills" to keep his business going.³⁹ As Robert Littlejohn noted

"I first found myself short of money in the spring of 1876...I did not communicate my embarrassment to any creditor because then and for long afterwards I was enabled by means of renewals of bills to meet my obligations."⁴⁰

This is not to suggest that large scale enterprises such as textile companies did not at times run into financial difficulties and require extended credit. The point is that reliance upon extended credit was probably more typical of small scale production.

It was probably extended credit which was the basis of any dependency relationship. Dependency is a complex term. It could have been represented by an exploitative relationship, with larger capitalists

³⁸ Ewan, L.A. 1988 "Debt and Credit in Early Modern Scotland: The Grandtully Estates 1650-1765" *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, University of Edinburgh. pp. 17-20.

³⁹ S.R.O., CS318/13/326.

⁴⁰ S.R.O., CS318/25/307.

attempting to increase the surplus value accruing to them by exploiting the small masters and reducing their levels of profit.⁴¹ However, in addition to the economic element dependency also implies an authority relationship, with the small masters subordinate to larger enterprises and individuals of higher status.

The idea of credit dependency suggests that, while credit has so far been considered as an enabling factor in production, the credit system also acted as a restraint on production. Once credit linkages were established they were potential constraints on the economic independence of these firms. Creditors, particularly merchants and manufacturers, could establish their own control on production or retailing, or cause the bankruptcy of a firm by demanding repayment. Another facet of the credit system, that of tradespeople giving credit to customers, was at once both necessary for business and a further constraint on production.

Merchants or manufacturers could establish control over production/retailing by actually taking over the running of the business, and claiming the profits arising. In 1900, for example, Alfred Dubber, a hotelier in Dunkeld, found trade was poor, and in his interrogation he stated

"Mr. Eadie of W.B. Thomson [whisky merchants and

⁴¹ Knox, *op cit*, p. 50.

creditors] asked me to sign a trust deed and I did so...Before that Mr. Eadie had been looking after me from the time I entered the hotel. He used to come up and look over my books and compare the expenditure with the income. Latterly he required from me the money I had in hand...for a short time he was coming up twice a week [and] he then got the free drawings from me."⁴²

In 1865 McCall and Son, a firm of merchants in Comrie, ran into financial difficulties when

"a bill of Crays Brothers of Edinburgh for £161 then became due and we could not then raise the funds to retire it. We wrote to them that we could not take up their bill. They then sent a man, Mr. Brunton, to take stock of the firm...After said inventory was taken Brunton remained and sold and took charge of the drawings from the sales at the shop and he is still there."⁴³

Andrew Haggart, a joiner and boat builder in Abernethy, had to sell his business to a creditor who was demanding payment.

"I sold it to James Weir...I got £40 for it. I was due him £40 for work done, and he was pressing me, and I had no cash to give him. I asked him if he would take my business in lieu of cash and he agreed to do so."⁴⁴

For some of those firms in the sequestration record, creditors had finally stopped production by recalling debts, and enforcing bankruptcy (in the legal sense). This was frequently cited as a reason for the failure of an enterprise. A first stage involved the gradual withdrawal of credit facilities. Alfred Dubber, the hotelier whose experiences are noted above, was

⁴² S.R.O., CS318/45/88 - "free drawings" were probably the cash takings of the firm.

⁴³ S.R.O., CS318/13/236.

⁴⁴ S.R.O., CS318/45/125.

told by Mr. Eadie

"that if they were to supply any more goods I must pay cash on delivery."⁴⁵

One clothier and grocer in Madderty noted that though initially

"I got my goods on credit and I generally paid accounts at Martinmas term...I got little credit during the past year and purchased as I got orders."⁴⁶

After this stage, the recall of bills was often the end for the business. John McLauchlan, a Blairgowrie shoemaker, stated in 1870 that

"Last year I was pressed by Messrs. Henderson and Son, leather merchants, Dundee, and I paid them in full to the extent of between £70 and £80...I felt myself in difficulties since ever I began in business but I could have gone on but for an individual pressing for payment of debt."⁴⁷

David Turner, a bootmaker, became insolvent due to a "creditor...pushing me very hard."⁴⁸ Sequestration was applied for by Euphemia Gall, a milliner, in 1872 when

"about the beginning of September last I began to be pressed by certain Glasgow creditors with whom I had transactions...In particular Messrs. Dickson, Taylor and Johnstone, Glasgow, were very pressing against me and...obtained a warrant of imprisonment against me."⁴⁹

These examples show that credit dependency expressed itself both as an economic relationship, and as an authority relationship. Credit linkages to larger mer-

⁴⁵ S.R.O., CS318/45/88.

⁴⁶ S.R.O., CS318/13/236.

⁴⁷ S.R.O., CS318/15/295.

⁴⁸ S.R.O., CS318/45/311.

⁴⁹ S.R.O., CS318/17/138.

chants or manufacturers allowed larger capitalists to restrict the economic activity of small scale producers, even to the point of ending the business by bankrupting it. This undermined the economic independence of the small master producers, and also affected the basis of their social standing in the community.

While the granting of credit to customers by tradespeople for goods or services was often used as a means of ensuring the continued custom of their working class customers (see Chapter Seven), there was more to this economic relationship. Giving credit to customers also formed an important restraint on production, but those engaged in the trades found it necessary to grant credit to get business. As one businessman noted

"There is no doubt that too much credit was given in the management of my business...I generally gave a week or a fortnight's credit to my customers, some of them got as much as a month...credit is too much the custom of all the shops...particularly with grocers and bakers. If I had not given credit I would not have got business."⁵⁰

John Dunsmore, a baker in Almondbank, stated in 1887 that

"for a while our business was profitable but there was too much credit."⁵¹

The granting of credit to customers by craft business owners caused two main problems for the firms; capital was tied up and debts were defaulted on. In the first

⁵⁰ S.R.O., CS318/11/97.

⁵¹ S.R.O., CS318/32/105.

instance the laying out of money in the form of credit led in some cases to cash shortages for the already undercapitalised firms, causing problems with paying bills or wages. On average book debts at the time of failure totaled £183 (n=52), but some firms were due as much as £500-1700.⁵² One tradesman failed because, as he stated,

"all of my money was invested in my business. I had often to lie out of my money for six months."⁵³

Some tradespeople were only too well aware of the problems this could lead to. Alex Todd, a Forfar tailor, stated in 1863 that he had expended money

"travelling about the country endeavouring to collect my debts",⁵⁴

and James McIntosh, a coachbuilder, had few debts owing to him because, as he noted

"I hunted up my customers for the money due to me in account of jobs."⁵⁵

On occasion he had to sell stock at a loss when he required cash for wages.

The second problem was that granting credit involved running the risk of bad debts, and actual loss of money. Of the businesspeople giving reasons for their failure twenty one percent (n=52) attributed failure at least in part to bad debts.⁵⁶ In 1855 it was stated

⁵² S.R.O., CS318/9.

⁵³ S.R.O., CS318/46/31.

⁵⁴ S.R.O., CS318/9/305.

⁵⁵ S.R.O., CS318/40/264.

⁵⁶ S.R.O., CS318/9.

that the navvies working on the Perth and Dunkeld railway

"have systematically tricked the merchants and others out of considerable sums of money for goods, lodgings, board &c. They usually paid up everything for a week or two, then got trust and decamped. This nefarious system reached its climax on the last pay day...when the merchants, landlords...and tradesmen &c. were all left in the lurch by their customers...who made off."⁵⁷

A similar problem was incurred due to the migratory habits of farm servants. In 1863 a meeting of the master tailors of the Carse of Gowrie noted that

"for some years back the tailors in the Carse have been 'done' by a number of young men leaving the district without settling their accounts."⁵⁸

Such abuses of the credit system could cause very real problems for these small producers. During the building of the Comrie branch line, one clothier and grocer noted

"during the formation of the railway I had a considerable increase of business which lasted for about eighteen months...I made a great loss in this...the navvies I believe cheated me with their lines. I [word indecipherable] the navvies for clothes and several of them absconded."

The same businessman had for years suffered at the hands of the ploughmen in a similar fashion

"I sold groceries principally on credit and the drapery had twelve months credit...The ploughmen often shifted their residences and I thus incurred bad debts."⁵⁹

When David Turner, a bootmaker, tried to call in his

⁵⁷ *Courier*, October 18, 1855.

⁵⁸ *Courier*, July 14, 1863.

⁵⁹ S.R.O., CS318/13/326.

book debts which totalled £190 in 1897, he found he "could not raise the half of them."⁶⁰

Thus while trade credit was an important enabling factor in production, it also operated as a constraining factor. Credit relationships with larger manufacturers or merchants could lead to credit dependency, which subordinated the small masters to larger units of production and distribution. The granting of credit to customers was a necessary feature of small scale production. While it was sometimes used as a means of ensuring custom, it also served to limit the operations of these small scale firms, due to their small circulating capital resources.

The relationship between the larger manufacturers, the merchants and the small scale producers is given more consideration in the conclusion (Section 5.6).

5.5 THE SPATIAL AVAILABILITY OF CREDIT⁶¹

The data extracted from the sequestration cases were also used to examine the spatial pattern of the provision of trade credit. Most previous studies of the

⁶⁰ S.R.O., CS318/45/311.

⁶¹ I would like to acknowledge the comments made by various individuals in response to two papers presented on this topic - "Computer assisted mapping of credit and debt fields of nineteenth century rural tradesmen" *IVth Congress of the International Association for History and Computing*, Bordeaux, September, 1989; "Mapping credit. Small tradesmen in nineteenth century rural Scotland" *'Edinburgh' Seminar Series*, Department of Economic and Social History, University of Edinburgh, January, 1990.

operation of the credit system have been largely concerned with its economic and social aspects, rather than with its operation over space.⁶² As has been noted

"our understanding of capital - its availability, its flows, its cost - is...difficult to organize in spatial terms...What should be mapped?...did liquidity and credit availability have a spatial aspect that was not demand-generated and how efficient were the mechanisms linking variations in demand for and supply of capital?...there must have been larger-scale variations in rates of fixed-capital formation and the supply of capital finance, and hence strong flows of capital over space."⁶³

Some previous studies have considered the spatial aspects of credit provision within rural areas. One conclusion they have arrived at has been that credit in rural areas in the seventeenth century largely originated within, and remained within, the same area. A study of the tenantry in seventeenth century Forfarshire showed that, although larger tenant farmers attracted credit from the burghs, for the smaller tenants and cottars

"the importance of the towns as a source of finance declined sharply...[and] most of the capital which originated within rural society stayed there."⁶⁴

On the Grandtully Estates in Perthshire between 1650

⁶² E.g. Ewan, *op cit* ; Behagg, *op cit* ; Holderness, B.A. 1976 "Credit in English Rural Society before the Nineteenth Century, with special reference to the period 1650-1720" *Agricultural History Review*, XXIV, pp. 97-109; Whyte and Whyte, *op cit*.

⁶³ Langton, J. and Morris, R.J. (eds.) *Atlas of Industrialising Britain, 1780-1914*. Methuen and Co. Ltd., London. p. xxvi-vvxii.

⁶⁴ Whyte and Whyte, *op cit*, pp. 74, 76.

and 1765 the provision of credit operated within local markets centered around burghs or towns with fairs. The majority of debts and credits contracted were internal to the group of estates, reflecting the partially closed economies operating at the time. In ninety six percent of cases the homes of the individuals involved in any credit transaction were less than twenty miles apart.⁶⁵ A study of England for a similar period revealed, from one source at least, the "local orientation of lending and borrowing", but also noted the unassessed importance of credit from without an "apparently closed system" in the form of mortgages, or credit on raw materials given by farmers or country merchants to middlemen based in the larger towns.⁶⁶

None of these studies is strictly comparable with the analysis presented here for the later nineteenth century. However, they do give a general context to the nature of the credit system in the seventeenth century. Within this context, the role of tradespeople using trade credit has not been fully assessed. In the sixteenth century rural craftsmen bought raw materials such as iron or finer cloth from burgh merchants.⁶⁷ It is not known how geographically widespread were those

⁶⁵ Ewan, *op cit*, pp. 265, 287.

⁶⁶ Holderness, *op cit*, pp. 101, 99.

⁶⁷ Sanderson, M.H.B. 1982 *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. p. 185.

credit connections which operated around the supply of goods in which the estate system was not self sufficient.

Within Lowland Perthshire it is obvious that by the eighteenth century at least the linen industry was utilising considerable amounts of urban mercantile and manufacturing credit to organise a rural outworking system. Even by 1792 it was said of Forfar that

"failures among trading people now and then happen; effects, which a sudden influx of wealth, and inexperience in the paths of extended commerce, seldom fail to produce and multiply; but it has been observed, to the honour of the merchants of Forfar, *by the people from a distance who have had long and extensive dealings in this country*, that there is no town in Angus where they find fewer bankruptcies and more punctual payments."⁶⁸

if While this statement may represent an attempt to boost the creditworthiness of the town, it does suggest a long established involvement with the credit system. Thus within certain commercial sectors the geographical nature of credit provision may not have corresponded to the overall picture of its being predominantly locally based. The long term development of the provision of trade credit must be studied in more detail before conclusions can be drawn.

This section attempts to outline the spatial nature of trade credit provision to small craft firms in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

⁶⁸ O.S.A., Vol. XIII, p. 258, emphasis added.

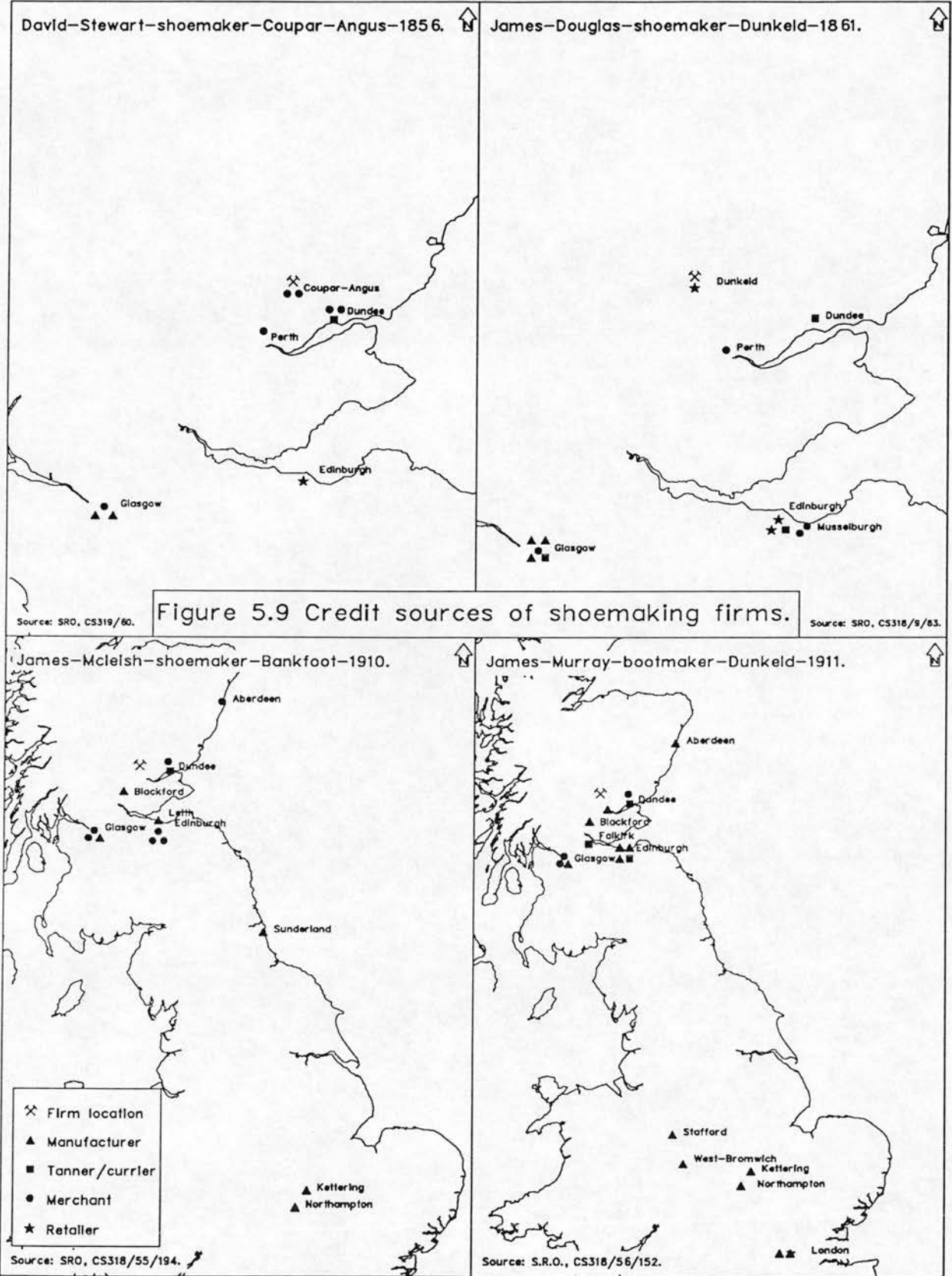
The data in the sequestration processes allow the initial investigation of certain of the questions raised above. They allow the investigation of the spatial availability of trade credit and of how, if at all, this varied over time. This illustrates the flow of one type of capital over space. The maps which accompany each sub-section show the location of the firm concerned, and point locations of the supply of trade credit, classified by business type. In the vast majority of cases the value of the credit provision was small (less than £35) and thus this information has not been displayed on the maps. Each sector is represented by four maps, which have been selected from larger series to illustrate the main points the analysis revealed. Each point location represents the site of a business from which goods have been transported to the firm concerned, and to which the firm owes payment. As shown above, the provision of trade credit (rather than institutionalised credit) was vital to production. It is therefore important to view these locations as sources of credit and not just of goods. An important point to note is that the changing patterns revealed do not correlate with the different size of the firms, as estimated by a comparison of liabilities, i.e. it is not just the larger firms that have credit linkages at a greater distance.

5.5.1 Shoemaking

Figure 5.9 shows the sources of trade credit for the shoemaking firms of Lowland Perthshire. The location of the sequestered firm is shown as indicated in the key. The other symbols refer to the sources of trade credit, classified by type of business. Within the shoemaking sector the retailers granting trade credit were typically specialist ironmongers. The merchants were typically leather merchants, but sites of leather production (tanners and curriers) are indicated separately. The manufacturers category includes producers of boots and shoes, heels, toes and soles, and other necessary products such as rubber or blacking.

Local sources of trade credit were rare in all cases. A noticeable pattern was that of the connections to the main Scottish urban and manufacturing sectors. Most firms had received trade credit from such sites as Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, and Perth, and also from smaller manufacturing towns such as Musselburgh, Lochee (by Dundee) or Kirkcaldy. These connections were either for the provision of leather or of ready made goods.

As an example of the former, David Stewart received some trade credit from local general merchants in Coupar Angus, but bought his leather on credit from D. & I. McKercher, leather merchants in Perth, and Boak & Co., Carmichael and Thomas Aitkin, all leather mer-



chants in Dundee.⁶⁹ More local sites such as Coupar Angus and Crieff had tanneries and more contact with these might have been expected. However, the tanning and shoemaking trades of Perth and its surroundings had been severely restricted by the operation of the early nineteenth century excise laws regarding leather. These caused the stoppage of many of the local tanneries, and brought about a general swing from manufacturing of leather footwear to retailing by 1836.⁷⁰ By contrast the main hide markets of Scotland were located in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen in 1869. Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow were important sources of leather and credit from merchants in all cases. James McLeish had contacts with the Ladybank Leather Works in Dundee, and various Edinburgh merchants such as Sinclair & Moir or Leslie, Pringle & Co. Glasgow firms such as McBride & Logie also supplied leather on credit.⁷¹

The rural shoemakers showed an increasing dependence on ready made goods. James Douglas received leather on credit from Perth, Dundee and Musselburgh, but also gained considerable credit from Glasgow boot and shoe manufacturers such as Ure & Stewart or A. & W. Paterson and Co.⁷² By 1869 Edinburgh and its surroun-

⁶⁹ S.R.O., CS319/60.

⁷⁰ Penny, G. 1836 *Traditions of Perth*. Messrs. Dewar, Sidey, Morison, Peat and Drummond, Perth. p. 240.

⁷¹ S.R.O., CS318/55/194.

⁷² S.R.O., CS318/9/83.

dings were the main site of the leather industry. With the introduction of machinery into footwear production, Edinburgh became the site of the largest factory in Scotland.⁷³ Flows of credit from this area were also common, from firms such as Yuill & Sons of Leith, or Gardiner & Co. of Edinburgh.⁷⁴

A change in the spatial availability of trade credit for shoemaking firms occurs by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The two later maps show a shift to reliance on trade credit supplied by the manufacturers of the English Midlands. This changing pattern would appear to mirror the development of the shoemaking industry nationally. The locations of trade credit supplied to firms operating later in the period under consideration, such as Leeds, London, Bristol, Kettering, Birmingham and Stafford, were among the first in Britain to begin to produce leather footwear for more than just local demand. In particular, Northamptonshire and Leicestershire were the sites of increasing geographical concentration of footwear production, and factory production was firmly established there by the 1880s. By 1911 these two counties contained over half the United Kingdom's

⁷³ Bremner, D. 1869 *The Industries of Scotland*. Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh. pp. 352-3.

⁷⁴ S.R.O., CS318/55/194; CS318/56/152.

footwear manufacturing industry.⁷⁵ In the early twentieth century rural shoemakers in north east Scotland began retailing factory produced footwear rather than making their own.⁷⁶ The firms of McLeish and Murray illustrate the changing availability of credit provision with the geographical concentration of fixed capital. Ready made footwear was supplied on credit by firms such as Caswell & Co. (Kettering), Borstock & Co. (Stafford), Stevens & Co. and Sulham & Co. (Northampton).⁷⁷ As noted in Chapter Four competition from centralised production was an important factor in the decline of rural shoemaking (Section 4.8). An important half-way stage in this process was the transformation of rural producers into local retail outlets. While this represented the subordination of small scale production to the larger unit, through credit links and economies of scale, it was also another example of the tendency of the small scale unit to transform its form and function in an effort to survive.

5.5.2 Innkeeping

An analysis of the trade credit supplying the innkeeping sector produces a complex picture. Trade

⁷⁵ Mounfield, P.R. 1986 "Leather footwear" in Langton and Morris, *op cit*, p. 124. It is interesting in many cases to compare the maps presented here with the maps in this atlas, where it is referred to.

⁷⁶ Cameron, D.K. 1987 *The Ballad and the Plough*. Victor Gollancz Ltd., London. p. 156.

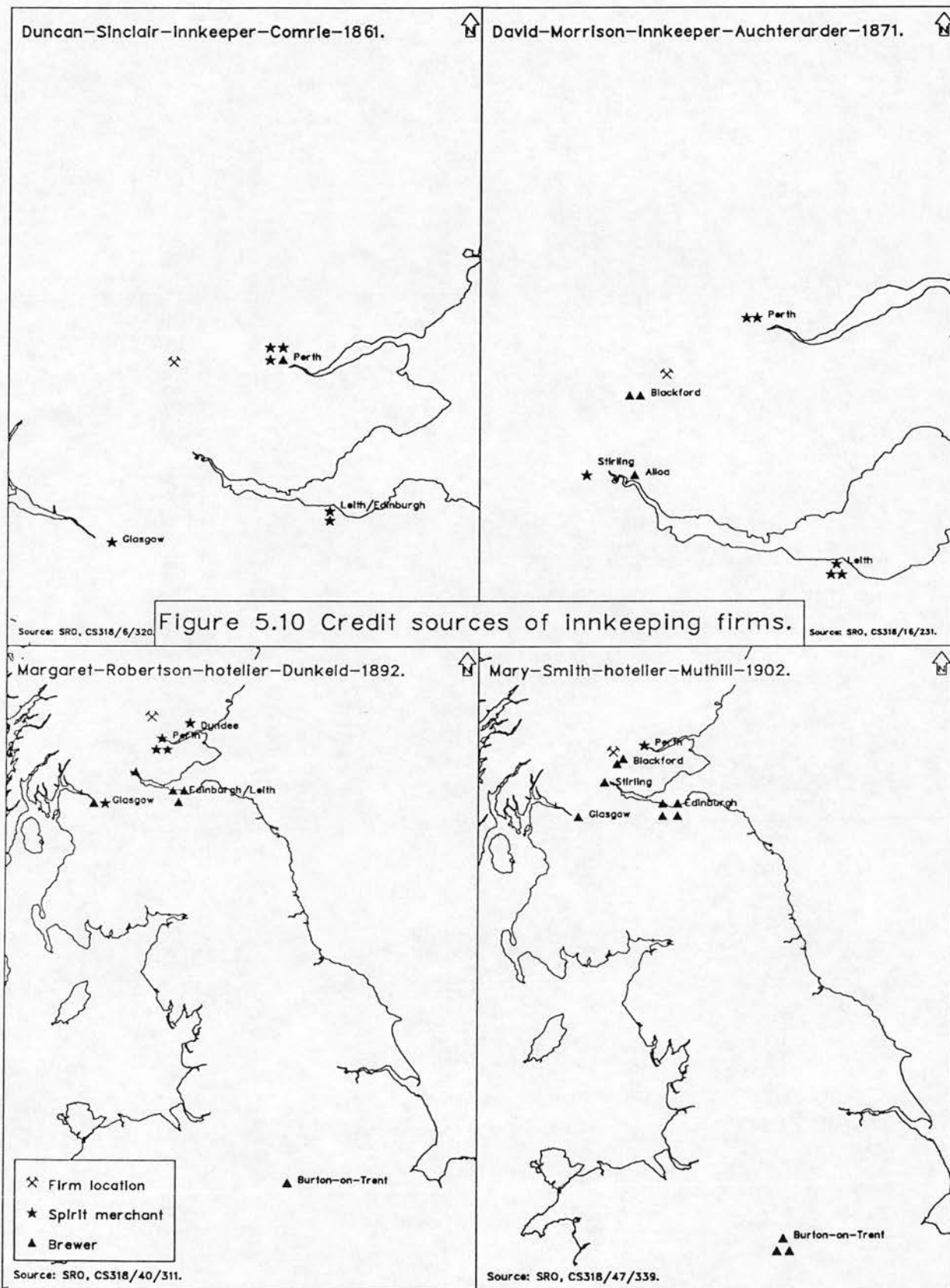
⁷⁷ S.R.O., CS318/56/152; CS318/55/194.

credit was given for a variety of articles, such as beer, wine, spirits, speciality foods, domestic items and fodder. In this section only the supply of trade credit from the brewing industry and from wine and/or spirit merchants is considered (Figure 5.10). This allows the identification of meaningful patterns, though in the case of the brewing industry the picture is complicated by the combination of free houses, tied and partially-tied houses.

The pattern of trade credit provision from wine and spirit merchants was consistent with the location of merchants in the main ports and commercial centres of Scotland. Throughout the period under consideration goods were obtained on credit from Leith, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Perth and Stirling. Duncan Sinclair of Comrie, for example, obtained wines and spirits on credit from Shields & Co. of Leith, the Perthshire Wine and Spirit Co. (Perth), Weir Brothers & Co. of Glasgow, and Gray & Son of Edinburgh.⁷⁸

The provision of trade credit from the brewing industry to innkeepers showed a changing pattern which can be related to national developments in the brewing industry. Firms in the earlier period showed more reliance on trade credit from local Scottish sources. Duncan Sinclair received beer on credit from Wright &

⁷⁸ S.R.O., CS318/6/320.



Co. of Perth, while David Morrison had contacts with Wm. Eadie and the well known brewery of R. & D. Sharp (both of Blackford), and McNellan & Co. of Alloa.⁷⁹ Economies of scale were inhibited in the brewing industry prior to the establishment of the rail network by high overland transport charges on what was a cheap and bulky commodity.⁸⁰ The creation of the rail network enabled brewers to cater for a national rather than a local market during the 1860s and '70s, and output was increasingly concentrated into the hands of fewer firms.⁸¹ Within Scotland a similar evolution occurred, with country brewing greatly diminished by 1850, and the industry increasingly concentrated in the main urban areas, especially Edinburgh and Glasgow.⁸² The majority of small businesses had been absorbed by the larger breweries before 1900 and

"urban brewers were, therefore, able to extend their 'Country Trade' at the expense of small brewers, whose former advantage of proximity to customers had been progressively eroded by cheaper transport costs."⁸³

The maps show a changing pattern of sources of trade credit which is consistent with these developments. The two later firms show a much greater reliance

⁷⁹ S.R.O., CS318/6/320; CS318/16/231.

⁸⁰ Weir, R.B. 1986 "Brewing and distilling" in Langton and Morris, *op cit*, p. 120.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Donnachie, *op cit*, pp. 31, 198.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

on the breweries of Edinburgh, Leith and Glasgow. Connections were established with once famous firms such as Lorimer & Clark and Bernards (Edinburgh), Wright & Co. of Leith, and George Mercer & Co. of Glasgow.⁸⁴ In particular, the later maps show connections with the brewers of Burton-on-Trent. Margaret Robertson's hotel in Dunkeld was serving beer brewed by Ind Coope & Co. of Burton, while Mary Smith had trade connections with Bass & Co., Thomas Salt & Co. and Allsopp & Sons.⁸⁵ Burton-on-Trent became a major brewing centre after the 1870s due to developments in the transport network, and natural features favouring the brewing of lighter pale ales and bitters which were becoming more popular.⁸⁶

A complicating feature in this analysis was the possibility of the distortion of patterns by the operation of a system of tied or partially tied houses. The partial tie was a feature of the on trade in Scotland, rather than the tied house, and may also have affected the supply of trade credit for beer in the innkeeping sector. The partial tie involved the brewery extending a loan to a business on security, and then compelling the publican/innkeeper to take beer from the firm until the loan was paid off.⁸⁷ Around sixty

⁸⁴ S.R.O., CS318/40/311; CS318/47/339.

⁸⁵ S.R.O., CS318/40/311; CS318/47/339.

⁸⁶ Weir, *op cit*, p. 122.

⁸⁷ Donnachie, *op cit*, p. 194.

percent of houses were operating on the basis of a partial tie by 1914.⁸⁸ It may not have been unusual for hotels in this area to be involved in a partial tie. The Blackford Brewery of R. & D. Sharp built up a successful trade based on local markets, mostly secured through tied houses in and around Perth.⁸⁹ This would bias the pattern of credit provision in that a tied publican/innkeeper would not have a free choice of brewery. However, in the cases considered here it is obvious that the innkeepers were receiving trade credit from a number of brewers, suggesting a partial tie was not in operation in these cases. However, the brewing industry does provide a useful example of the marketing strategies and the use of credit to extend retailing opportunities of large firms, and this will be returned to below.

5.5.3 Building

Trade credit for the building trades was given for the purchase of the necessary raw materials. Figure 5.11 shows the distribution of trade creditors to the building trade. The creditors have been classified according to their roles as manufacturers, distributors or extractors of materials. Manufacturers were involved in the production of items such as bricks and tiles, with processing lime or fire-clay, or were founders.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

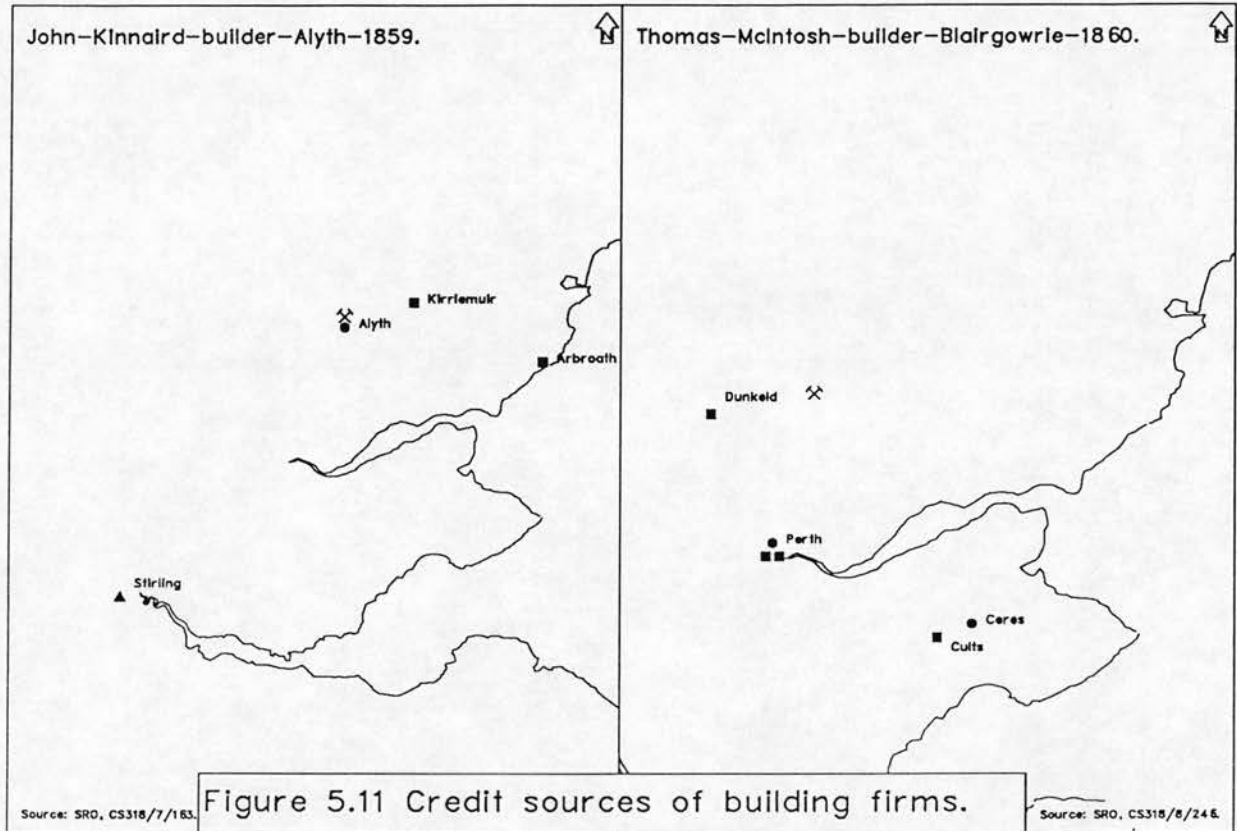
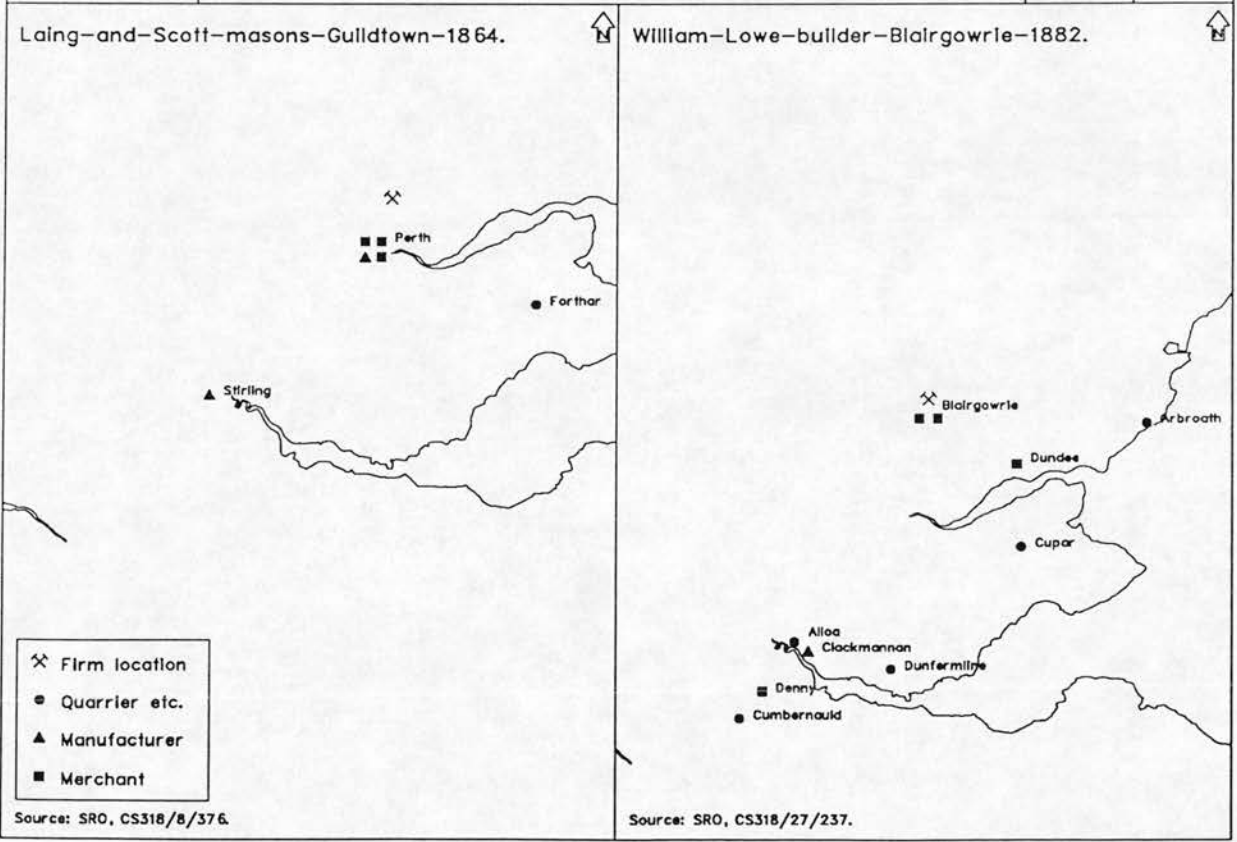


Figure 5.11 Credit sources of building firms.



Merchants were involved in the distribution of materials, such as coal, lime or cement. Those involved in extracting raw materials were typically stone quarriers, but included quarrying of slate, fire-clay, or lime. In reality, many of the large extractive and manufacturing companies probably also handled distribution, but there did exist a separate group of merchants dealing in these materials.

The pattern of trade credit in these cases mirrors to a certain extent the geology of Central Scotland. Those creditors in the extractive and manufacturing sectors were located on the Carboniferous limestone outcrops of eastern Fife, and upon the Coal Measures of central Scotland, where clay and fire-clay bands occurred in the strata.⁹⁰ Thomas McIntosh of Blairgowrie was receiving lime from James Graham, a limeburner in Ceres.⁹¹ William Lowe had connections with firms such as Buick and Sons Hilton Clay Works in Alloa, the Cumbernauld Fire Clay Co. and Gillespie's Tile Works in Clackmannan.⁹² Merchants were also found located in similar situations, such as John Cairns, lime merchant in Cults, who was granting credit to Thomas McIntosh.⁹³ Sea transport of bulky goods also caused a reliance on

⁹⁰ Whittow, J.B. 1979 *Geology and Scenery in Scotland*. Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth. pp. 127, 118.

⁹¹ S.R.O., CS318/8/246.

⁹² S.R.O., CS318/27/237.

⁹³ S.R.O., CS318/8/246.

merchants located in ports. Examples included Salmond & Son, lime merchants in Arbroath, and Adamson, cement merchant in Dundee.⁹⁴

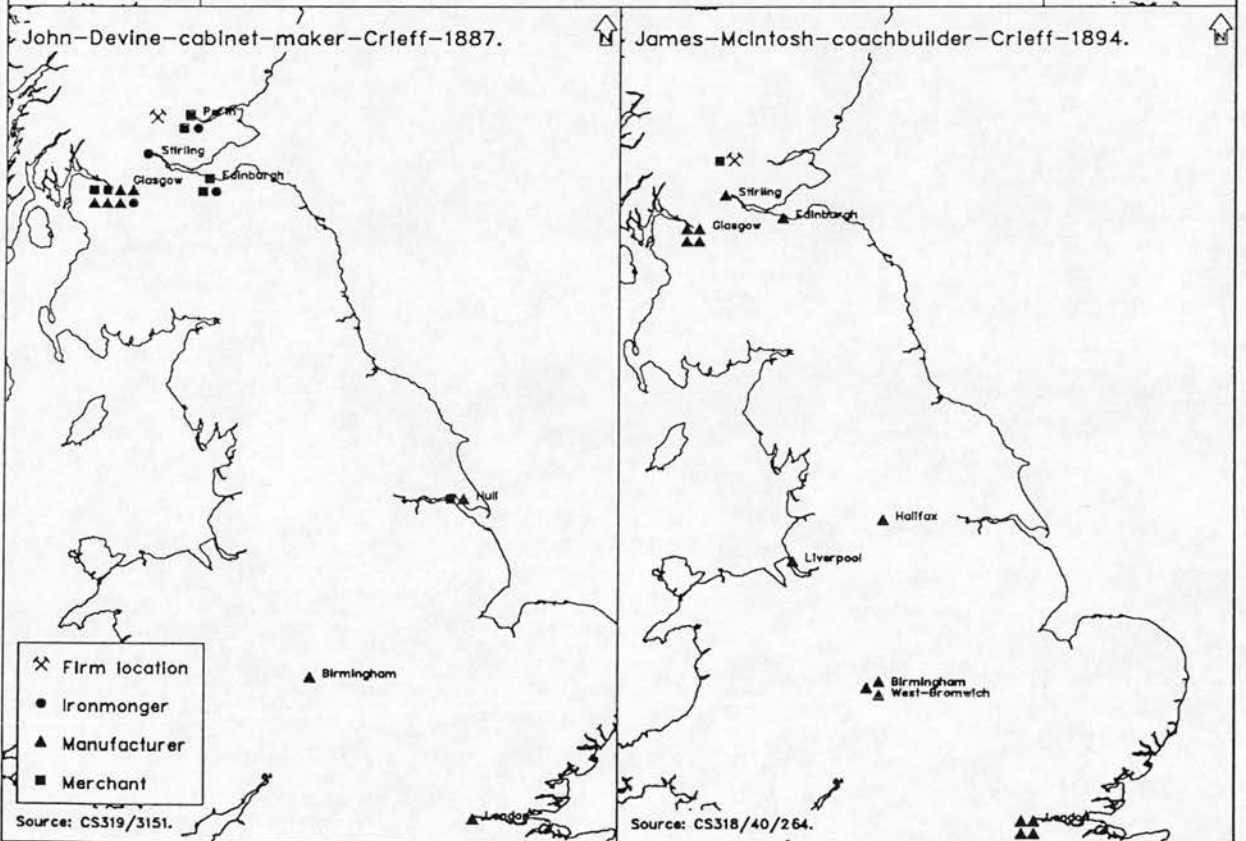
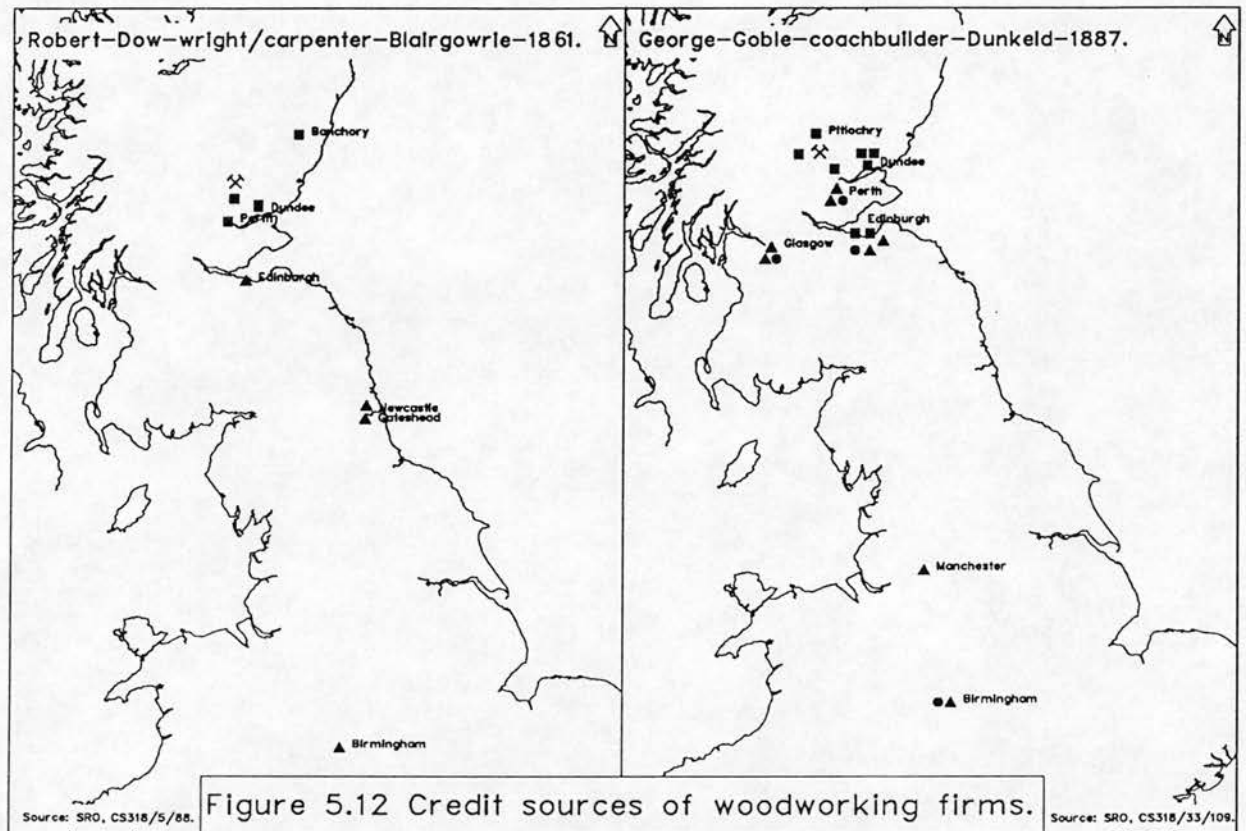
Unlike the shoemaking and brewing industries, the building sector did not really develop a national market, either in capital terms or in the sale of necessary goods. Later developments in the mass manufacture of items such as cement or brick probably began to overcome this. However, the picture of the provision of trade credit suggests a more localised pattern of the use of credit.

5.5.4 Woodworking, coach and cabinet making

Figure 5.12 illustrates the provision of trade credit to this sector. Ironmongers were commonly found as trade creditors, but within this sector they were specialist retailers, usually coach and/or saddler's ironmongers. The manufacturers category subsumes a range of activities, from wheel and axle making, paint and varnish manufacture, to saw milling and founding. The vast majority of the merchants were supplying wood or timber.

Many of the Scottish locations of trade credit represent the sites of wood and timber merchants, a basic raw material for these occupations. Robert Dow was receiving timber on credit from Kirkland & Sons of Dundee, Thomas Dewar in Banchory and Robertson & Donald

⁹⁴ S.R.O., CS318/7/163; CS318/27/237.



son of Perth.⁹⁵ However, many of the major urban and manufacturing sites of Scotland, and of England, were also represented. In this latter case the pattern of trade credit is similar to the pattern of the engineering industry on a national basis.⁹⁶ Credit linkages were established to specialist engineering works, such as wheel works, axle makers, or specialist ironmongers, in Tyneside and the Midlands. George Goble received goods on credit from Selby & Co., axle makers in Birmingham, and other goods from manufacturers in Manchester.⁹⁷ James McIntosh had trade links with Eadon & Sons' steel works in Sheffield, Gibson & Co.'s Unity Works in West Bromwich, and Farnell & Sons' Victoria Wheel Works in Halifax.⁹⁸ Connections with the paint and varnish manufacturers of London and Hull were also established.⁹⁹ Edinburgh also features in the early maps as a site for the supply of trade credit from specialist ironmongers, such as Thomson's saddlers' ironmongers, which is consistent with its early development as a coachbuilding centre,¹⁰⁰ while Glasgow was obviously an important source of trade credit from a variety of manufacturers, merchants and specialist

⁹⁵ S.R.O., CS318/5/88.

⁹⁶ Hume, J.R. and Oglethorpe, M. 1986 "Engineering" in Langton and Morris, *op cit*, pp. 136-9.

⁹⁷ S.R.O., CS318/33/109.

⁹⁸ S.R.O., CS318/40/264.

⁹⁹ S.R.O., CS319/3151; CS318/40/264.

¹⁰⁰ Bremner, *op cit*, p. 111.

ironmongers.

It is likely that dependency on credit from specialist engineers holds the key to the patterns of credit provided by manufacturers revealed. Coachbuilding involved six distinct trades (body making, carriage making, wheelwrighting, smithing, painting and trimming), and another six indirectly.¹⁰¹ The cabinet making trade also required a range of skills and additional materials such as glass, mirrors and decorative fittings. Since the Perthshire firms considered here were typically small in terms of the numbers of employees, it is likely that they would have had to purchase ready made fittings, rather than carrying out all the phases of production. In the nineteenth century in Scotland metallic beading, door handles and "other decorations of that kind" were obtained by the coachmaking trade from

"manufacturers who devote special attention to their production."¹⁰²

As noted above, a common form of trade credit provision in this sector was from coach and saddler's ironmongers. In addition, the specialist tools found in Scottish engineering workshops at this time (around 1870) were commonly of English manufacture.¹⁰³ Thus the reliance of these small scale firms on specialist

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

engineering firms for tools and fittings would explain the pattern of provision of trade credit revealed. The development of engineering on Clydeside was relatively late compared to other areas of specialisation,¹⁰⁴ and indeed greater contact with this area is evident in the later maps.

5.5.5 Baking

Within the baking sector four categories of trade creditors were distinguished (Figure 5.13). The corn merchant category is self evident. Flour dealers dominated the second merchants category, but this also included other merchants dealing in goods necessary for production, such as salt and margarine. On the production side, millers processing cereal and supplying flour are distinguished from manufacturers who were supplying ready made baked goods for retail.

The rural baking firms show a progressive shift from reliance on corn merchants, to an increasing shift in the provision of trade credit from large coastal steam mills and urban manufacturers. James Rankine and James Cree were receiving credit and cereal from merchants such as Rowden & Roy (Perth), Gordon Brothers & Co. (Dundee), or Hutchison & Co. of Kirkcaldy.¹⁰⁵ Even at this date, however, connections were established with large steam mills at Edinburgh and Leith. The

¹⁰⁴ Hume and Oglethorpe, *op cit*, p. 138.

¹⁰⁵ S.R.O., CS318/7/284; CS318/24/103.

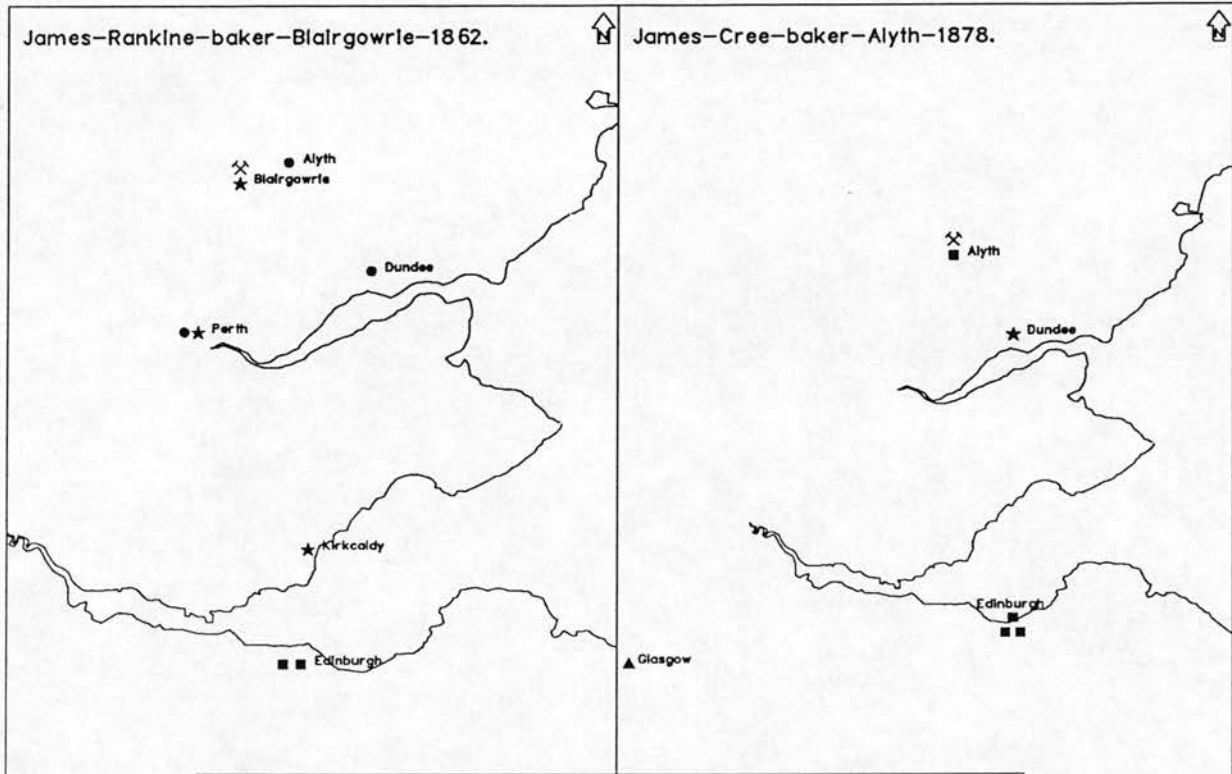
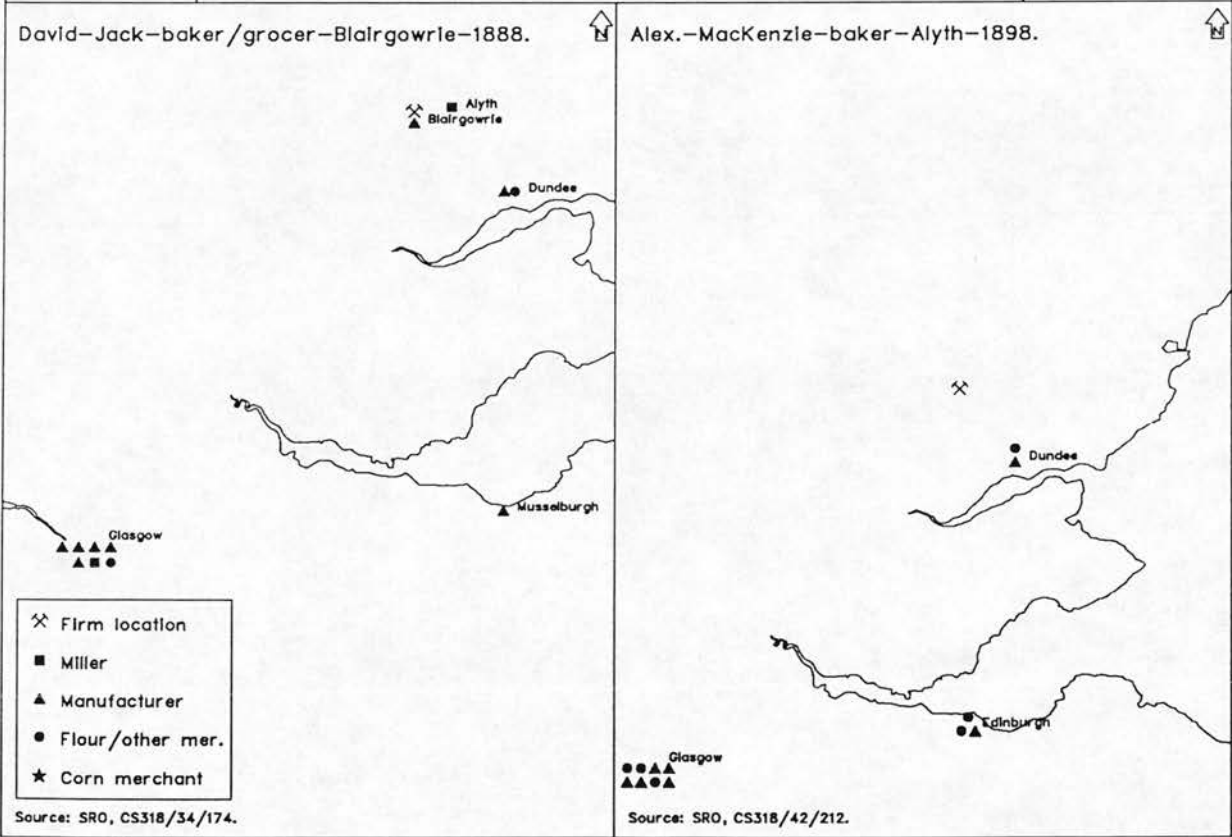


Figure 5.13 Credit sources of baking firms.



provision of flour from such sites increasingly dominated the markets after the 1870s with the introduction of cheap prairie grain from North America.¹⁰⁶ James Cree and David Jack had trade connections with millers such as Gibson & Walker's Bonnington Steam Mills or Ure & Sons of Glasgow.¹⁰⁷

Another feature was the increasing reliance on ready made goods produced by wholesale confectioners and biscuit manufacturers. The growth of a large scale confectionary industry was a characteristic of the late Victorian era.¹⁰⁸ David Jack and Alexander MacKenzie obtained goods on credit from Glasgow firms such as Buchanan & Brothers (wholesale confectioners), Herbert & Co. and Henderson & Son (biscuit manufacturers).¹⁰⁹

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented an initial investigation into the involvement of small scale rural producers in the credit system. The conclusions presented apply to a certain type of enterprise, due to the nature of the sequestration record, and should not be extended

¹⁰⁶ Sprott, G. 1984 "The Country Tradesmen" in Devine, T.M. (ed.) *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. p. 151.

¹⁰⁷ S.R.O., CS318/24/103; CS318/34/174.

¹⁰⁸ Holderness, B.A. 1981 "Agriculture and Industrialization in the Victorian Economy" in Mingay, G.E. (ed.) *The Victorian Countryside. Volume 1*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. p. 190.

¹⁰⁹ S.R.O., CS318/34/174; CS318/42/212.

fully to the whole business community. However, as argued previously, the results are likely to be applicable to a large proportion of businesses.

An investigation of the origins of the start-up capital of these firms revealed that savings from a period of waged employment, the provision of cash credits and inheritance of existing businesses from family members were more important than credit from merchants, manufacturers, banks or other businesses.

An examination of the composition of the creditors of the firms in the sample revealed the dominating importance in all sectors of the provision of trade credit by merchants and manufacturers. This suggests that the provision of trade credit by these groups was an important enabling factor in production. Of course, an analysis of the creditors of a firm does not reveal the total resources available to it for production, such as stock in trade, fixed capital or other investments. However, qualitative material does suggest that credit provision was vitally important for the continued running of the enterprise.

The role of trade credit as an enabling factor in production was then examined. It was concluded that these small scale enterprises were probably typified by credit dependency, though this must be carefully defined. While the use of credit was an important part of production, it could also act as a limitation on the

economic performance of firms. Credit dependency was at times used by creditors as a means of establishing control over production or retailing in the rural areas. Production could be halted completely by creditors forcing the firm into bankruptcy, specifically sequestration in these cases. The granting of credit to customers also caused economic problems for these under-capitalised firms. Though these firms kept control of the marketing of their own produce, the idea of the economic independence of those engaged in the trades was undermined, and in many cases invalidated, by credit dependency.

The spatial aspects of the provision of trade credit were then examined by sector. The pattern of provision of this type of credit was reliant on the spatial distribution of production. Sites of the provision of this type of credit were revealed to have been either major manufacturing centres (for industrial capital/credit), or major urban centres (for mercantile capital/credit). For some sectors, such as shoemaking, or brewing and innkeeping, changes in the spatial pattern of credit provision or availability were related to changes in the geographical distribution of those sectors. Distinctive patterns were less evident in those other sectors, such as building, where national markets were poorly developed. In particular, this analysis demonstrated the importance of urban capital

in rural production, and this is discussed further below.

In broad terms at least, the conclusions derived here seem compatible with a widening of the spatial availability of credit since the seventeenth century (see Section 5.5), as transport systems, commercial activity and financial institutions all developed. The completion of a national railway network must have been a major influence. More work would need to be carried out, however, regarding the involvement of rural tradespeople in the credit system in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries before this conclusion could be confirmed.

The analysis presented here has answered certain specific questions regarding one section of the business community, albeit a wide ranging one, as revealed by one source. There is considerable scope for further research, particularly using a range of sources and examining a greater range of enterprises. Combining sequestration material with cases in Cessio processes, and in the files of dissolved limited liability companies, would provide a more complete picture of the use of credit over a range of enterprises. Consideration of other sectors, such as farming or textiles, would also add to an understanding of the use of credit in rural production.

Looking at the operation of the credit system

from different perspectives would also be useful. The role of financial institutions would need to be assessed, and the pattern and process of credit provision established. Similarly, as discussed below, looking from the other end of the credit linkages through business records of enterprises granting credit would lead to a more complete picture.

An important topic which requires consideration is that of the *mechanisms* involved in the credit system. How were contacts between firms established, how important were developments in the transport system, and what was the role played by the development of financial institutions in maintaining financial contacts? Figure 5.14 shows examples of firms which were granting credit to a number of businesses in the sequestration sample. Firms such as Herbert & Co.'s Kingston Biscuit Factory, or Melvin Brothers, boot manufacturers, (both of Glasgow) were obviously actively pursuing rural retail outlets as a means of expanding their own markets. It would be of great value in understanding the economic and spatial dimensions of the credit system to examine the topic from the point of view of the large, urban based firms which were granting credit to the rural producers. How much more widespread was the influence of firms such as Melvin Brothers outside of the Perthshire area, for example?

Research on the brewing industry provides an

Figure 5.14

Multiple credit connections with craft firms in
Lowland Perthshire, 1860-1911

<u>Creditor</u>	<u>Debtors</u>	.
Gibson & Walker, Bonnington Steam Mills, Edinburgh.	J. Dunsmore, baker, Almondbank, 1887. J. Rankine, baker, Blairgowrie, 1862. J. Cree, baker, Alyth, 1878.	
Herbert & Co., Kingston Biscuit Factory, Glasgow.	D. Jack, baker, Blairgowrie, 1888. A. MacKenzie, baker, Alyth, 1898. M. Robertson, hotelier, Dunkeld, 1892.	
Kirkland & Sons, wood merchants and saw millers, Dundee.	R. Dow, wright, Blairgowrie, 1861. A. Martin, cabinet maker, Crieff, 1866. W. Guthrie, wright, Ballendrick, 1857. R. Reid, joiner, Blairgowrie, 1870.	
Ind Coope & Co., brewers, Burton-on-Trent.	M. Smith, hotelier, Muthill, 1902. M. Robertson, hotelier, Dunkeld, 1892.	
Melvin Brothers, boot manufacturers, Glasgow.	A. Slidders, shoemaker, Alyth, 1892. R. Munro, shoemaker, Alyth, 1890. J. Douglas, shoemaker, Dunkeld, 1861. D. McGregor, shoemaker, Killin, 1896.	
Henderson & Sons, Ladybank Leather Works, Dundee.	J. McLeish, shoemaker, Bankfoot, 1910. J. Murray, shoemaker, Dunkeld, 1911. R. Munro, shoemaker, Alyth, 1890. A. Slidders, shoemaker, Alyth, 1892.	

Source: S.R.O., CS318/9.

important insight into the possible mechanisms of the workings of the credit system. With the concentration of the industry, brewing companies actively pursued retail opportunities in the rural areas. From the beginning of the nineteenth century the larger brewers began to acquire selling agents resident in the town or district where they wished to raise sales. In addition, travelling sales staff became increasingly important with the improved mobility brought by the railways. By the 1880s most brewers had travellers, either making sales, or recommending suitable publicans for loans and assessing their security.¹¹⁰ It would be useful to gain an understanding of the marketing policies of the urban based firms, of which remarkably little is known, and also of the instruments used to achieve them. How much use was made of advertisements, travelling salespeople, or mail order catalogues, for example?

Some examples serve to indicate the importance of such mechanisms within different sectors. Newspapers such as the *Perthshire Advertiser*, and trade directories such as *Slater's* carried advertisements for various companies who were operating on a national basis. McKay and Fairbairn of the Sciennes Iron Works, Edinburgh, were advertising a variety of items, such as wire fencing, bolts, girders, and beams, along with

¹¹⁰ Donnachie, *op cit*, pp. 192-4.

patented items.¹¹¹ Another example was Joseph & Jesse Siddons of West Bromwich (Figure 5.15).¹¹² Robert Taylor, of Edinburgh, was advertising East Lothian lime shell, which was

"recommended to the notice of Plasterers, Builders, and Agriculturalists as being very suitable for their respective purposes. A trial is solicited."¹¹³

In addition to advertising, mail order was probably also important. Benson's Watch, Clockmakers and Jewellers, of the City Steam Works, London, were offering a catalogue of goods which could then be mail ordered.¹¹⁴

As in the case of the brewing industry, the use of travelling salespeople, and the active recruitment of firms as agents of the products of national companies, was important. Robert Stewart, drapers in St. Paul's, Bristol, were advertising in Perthshire for a "Young Man to Travel in the Drapery Trade."¹¹⁵ R. Houston & Sons of Greenock advertised "Responsible Agents Wanted."¹¹⁶ Agricultural implements and machinery were another product for which the rural tradespeople were becoming agents.¹¹⁷ As an example, the following advertisement appeared in 1870

¹¹¹ *Advertiser*, January 6, 1870.

¹¹² 1860 *Slater's Commercial Directory and Topography of Scotland*. Isaac Slater, Manchester and London. p. 249.

¹¹³ *Advertiser*, March 24, 1870.

¹¹⁴ *Advertiser*, January 6, 1870.

¹¹⁵ *Advertiser*, January 27, 1870.

¹¹⁶ *Advertiser*, February 24, 1890.

¹¹⁷ Sprott, *op cit*, p. 151.

Figure 5.15

Advertisement for Siddons of West
Bromwich, 1860

ESTABLISHED 1844.

Joseph & Jesse Siddons,
HILL TOP NEW FOUNDRY,
WESTBROMWICH, STAFFORDSHIRE,
MANUFACTURERS OF
Tinned and Patent Enamelled Cast Iron
Hollow Ware,
Cast, Lath, Wall, & Prison Door Nails,
HEADED & PLAIN BILLS, CAST STEEL SHOE PINS,
Garden Eyes and Loops, Shoe Stumps, Slate Pegs, and
Top Spikes.

Flanch and Box Coffee Mills, all kinds of Cast Iron Hinges, Door Knockers, Iron and Brass Frame, and Axle Pullies, Side, Screw, Upright, Railway, and Spectacle Pullies, Norfolk Stable and all other kinds of Door Latches, Three Wheel, Two Wheel, One Wheel, Pivot, French, Bevil Roller, Socket, Square Plate, Pommel and Iron Bedsteads.

BEDSTEAD CASTERS.

Surplice Pins, Hat and Coat Pins, Shutter Screws and Lifts, Door Chains, Cabin Hooks, Door Handles and Knobs, Stubbs and Plates, Sash Pivots, Lifting and Trunk Handles, Mole Traps, Sailors' Palms, Shelf Brackets.

Sink Traps, Stable Drains, Ash Grates, Cellar Window Frames.

Oven Doors and Frames, Furnace Doors and Frames and Grates, Furnace Boilers, 6 to 20 Gallons.

Door Scrapers and Porters, Hat, Coat, and Umbrella Stands.

Sad, M, Spanish, Tailors, Hatters, Toy, Italian, Box, and every other description of Irons, Three Legged, Marmont, Danish, and Russian Pots, Sugar Pans, Camp Ovens, Dutch Stoves, Cooking Stoves, Rice Bowls, Cassada Plates, Spider Pans, Flat, Cup, Bar, Ring, and Bell Pattern English Weights, Weights made and adjusted to the French, Danish, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese Standard. All the above Weights may be had galvanized.

SHAVES AND COBS FOR BLOCK PULLIES.

All kinds of Spouting and Rain Water Pipes.

CAST IRON WINDOW FRAMES ANY PATTERN AND SIZE.

OVEN, FULL AND SEAM REGISTER GRATES.

IRON BEDSTEADS.

WROUGHT IRON FRYING PANS, AND TEA KETTLES.

Buckets, Coal Hods and Scoops, both Japanned and Galvanized, and every other description of Wrought Iron and Tin-plate Goods.

Estimates given for all kinds of Castings & Wrought Iron Work.

List of Prices sent Post Free upon Application.

J. & J. S. can supply all kinds of Birmingham and Wolverhampton Goods at as low prices as any Birmingham or Wolverhampton Factor.

Westbromwich is situated seven miles from both Birmingham and Wolverhampton; Swan Village is the nearest Station on the Great Western, Wednesbury on the South Staffordshire, and Albion on the Stour Valley Lines of Railway.

Source: Slater's Commercial Directory and Topography of
Scotland. 1860.

"Agricultural Machinery and Implements. R. Hornsby & Sons, Grantham, beg to intimate that they have appointed Messrs. J.H. Connell & Co., Perth as Sole Agents for the Sale of their Manufactures for the Midland Districts of Scotland...Connell & Co. beg to state that their Reps. will attend the Town and Local Markets for the purpose of receiving orders &c."¹¹⁸

Village smiths held commissions to supply and repair the factory made products of engineering firms, and retail ironmongers also accepted agencies for goods.¹¹⁹ As noted above (Section 5.5.2) credit linkages did exist between these rural firms and brewers such as Allsopp & Sons of Burton-on-Trent, and Allsopp were employing Scottish agents to help distribute their product, as Figure 5.16 shows.

An examination of the policies of institutionalised credit, particularly banking, would perhaps help to explain the lack of credit provision to the firms considered here. A key factor would have been the lack of security that these business owners could offer. In Edinburgh in the nineteenth century many of the smaller building firms were not regarded as creditworthy by the banks, and hence relied upon financial support from individuals, landlords and suppliers of goods.¹²⁰ However, other forms of institutionalised finance were also available. Newspaper advertisements offering capital loans from finance or mortgage companies were

¹¹⁸ *Advertiser*, February 10, 1870.

¹¹⁹ Holderness, *op cit*, p. 198.

¹²⁰ Knox, *op cit*, p. 193.

Figure 5.16

Advertisement for William Milne & Co.,
agents for Allsopp & Sons, 1860



ALLSOPP'S EAST INDIA PALE AND BURTON FINE ALES.

The Subscribers, AGENTS in SCOTLAND for SAMUEL ALLSOPP & SONS, Brewers, Burton-upon-Trent, respectfully intimate that the above well known and highly appreciated Ales, can always be had from them in Casks of various sizes either direct from the Brewery, or from their Store in Glasgow, where they will be happy to furnish also a list of the Bottlers in the various Towns of Scotland.

WILLIAM MILNE & CO.
115, ST. VINCENT STREET, GLASGOW,
AGENTS FOR SCOTLAND.

Source: as Figure 5.15

common. Kendall & Naylor, Surveyors &c., of London had

"Money to lend. To Farmers, Tradesmen and Others. Loans from £50 to £1000, at 5 per cent upon PERSONAL SECURITY, can be quickly obtained by responsible parties, with easy payments from one to five years."¹²¹

Loans of £25 to £5000 on security of life insurance policies, railway shares or similar items were offered by J. Davis & Sons Ltd., Mortgage Brokers in Edinburgh and Glasgow.¹²² Again, the ability to offer security must have been a vital factor in obtaining financial support.

Cash credit granted by individuals as a form of investment is also worthy of study, particularly given the problems with trying to assess this using sequestration material. How important were personal and kinship links in the availability of this type of credit, and regarding willingness to lend? Who were the key figures organising its flow? Local solicitors may have represented important channels for investment.

Not enough is known about the overall structure of the credit system, and changes in the general availability of credit. Especially when examining change over time it would be important to establish an outline of the changing operation of the system. For example, it has been noted that following the effects of the financial collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878

¹²¹ *Advertiser*, January 6, 1870.

¹²² *Advertiser*, January 1, 1890.

there was an institutional reform of credit policies, in particular an insistence upon adequate collateral for advances.¹²³

Another issue is the implications such links have for the validity of any methodological separation of urban and rural areas. It becomes increasingly difficult to define the terms urban and rural as representing separate units or systems, given the integration of the two in terms of capital flows. This becomes even more difficult over time, with the development of national markets, as was shown for the shoemaking trade for example.

Lastly, an important issue is the *motive* for granting credit. The reasons behind the decision to grant or accept credit were the fundamental causes of the operation of the system. From the point of view of the creditor the risk-taking element of the transaction was balanced against the prospect of financial return upon loans, and perhaps the opportunity to control or make use of smaller units of production or retailing. Again, work on the brewing industry gives some idea of the reasons for granting credit. The partial tie system, where a brewery granted a loan to a publican who was then compelled to buy products from that company until the loan was paid off, provides a good

¹²³Rodger, R.G. 1985 "Business Failure in Scotland, 1839-1913" *Business History*, 27, p. 91.

example of this. Here, the centralised brewing industry was attempting to establish control over rural retail outlets, and the loan system represented an economical use of capital (compared to tied houses) in order to extend markets. Partially tied houses formed secure foundations for penetrating new markets on a permanent basis.¹²⁴

Similar processes operated in other sectors. As noted above, in the case of Donald McGregor, bootmaker in Killin, he resumed business on the basis of credit provision. As he stated

"Melvin Brothers wrote me to come to Glasgow to see them, and I went there, and they offered me all the stuff I required, provided I signed bills for them."¹²⁵

As noted in Section 5.4, creditors could maintain very close control over the rural producers' and retailers' operations once credit dependency was established.

On the other hand, though credit dependency was a potential limiting factor, from the point of view of the aspiring business owner it could have been viewed as a means of success, an opportunity. From the point of view of the small producers acceptance of credit was undertaken with the view to accumulating capital. Credit provision was perceived as necessary to continue production, though as noted above there was a certain

¹²⁴ Donnachie, *op cit*, p. 194.

¹²⁵ S.R.O., CS318/43/197.

reluctance to becoming dependent upon credit. William Keay, a bootmaker in Blairgowrie who became bankrupt in 1862, made use of the credit system to attempt to expand production and income:

"About 1853 or 1854 I began to expand my business by keeping a ready made stock and after that I began my system of [discounting] bills which went on increasing with my business."¹²⁶

Thus, taking an overview of the subject matter of this chapter, it would seem that different interpretations of the operation of the credit system are possible. This is dependent on which scale of analysis is employed. From the point of view of the individual small business owner credit was obviously a very necessary economic device. Indeed, for them it represented a means of achieving their aims.

Viewing the system as a whole, and perhaps also as it was perceived by the directors of a large company granting credit, it can be described as a means of utilising rural production which might be adopted by centralised manufacturing and mercantile capital. As has been noted mercantile interests did not control the marketing of the goods of the rural craft sector. However, though the picture varied by sector, the credit system was one means by which urban based capital could exploit the opportunities of the rural areas, by which it could extend its operations in

¹²⁶ S.R.O., CS318/11/145.

spatial terms. The role of mercantile and industrial capital in the form of credit was to establish outlets for their products in this rural area. As has been shown this could have been achieved by establishing ties through the granting of credit. In itself the use of credit by a small scale producer did not necessarily represent dependency upon credit, or a subordinate position. However, using extended credit, and having their economic decision making restricted, could certainly mean that these business owners did become dependent upon large scale capital.

In the following chapters, the analysis is extended from the considerations of the economic structures of small scale production, to the associated social characteristics. The next chapter examines the role and organization of the family and the household in production, with particular reference to small scale producers.

Chapter Six

Family, household and production in nineteenth century Lowland Perthshire

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an examination of the organisation of the family and the household in nineteenth century Lowland Perthshire. The emphasis is placed on the involvement of families in production i.e. the organisation of individuals, families and/or economic units for producing goods or providing services for a market. Various features of the family, such as size or structure, are contrasted between groups where the head of the household or family followed a particular occupation.

It has been suggested that

"gender relations and family structures were as 'economic' and 'political' as were relations of production and the organization of work. The labour historian who ignores that fact misunderstands the concerns and experiences of the working men and women of the past."¹

The family can be viewed as the institution which mediated between the economic system and the individ-

¹ Scott, J. 1984 "Men and women in the Parisian garment trades: discussions of family and work in the 1830's and 1840's" in Thane, P., Crossick, G. and Floud, R. (eds.) *The power of the past. Essays for Eric Hobsbawm*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. p. 87.

ual.² Individuals related to technological change largely through the filter of family life, which provided the basis for the strategies they adopted to deal with these changes. In some cases the family was the setting for productive relations. Even where it was not, family experience was important in the development of work habits and status patterns.³ At one level, then, the family was an important influence on an individual's strategy for getting by in life.

Thus this chapter seeks to outline patterns of the behaviour of individuals within the context of the family, and the resulting family formations, as an important influence upon the social structure of a location. The importance of considering the role of the family in production and in the social formation is stressed, to try and move away from the usual focus upon the activities of the male heads of household or upon groups of workers. Though the focus of the chapter is upon the craft sector, other material is also introduced for comparative purposes.

Section 6.2 examines patterns of social interaction, as revealed by patterns of marriage, between the families which composed occupational groups. The exist-

² Struminger, L. 1977 "The artisan family: traditions and transition in nineteenth century Lyon" *Journal of Family History*, 2. p. 211.

³ *Ibid.*

ance of social controls operating upon choice of marriage partner is examined. Three different types of analysis are undertaken, comparing the occupations of grooms, brides and their respective in-laws. Factors other than social similarity which may have affected the pattern of interaction are also considered, such as geographical distance or occupational similarities.

The size of families where the head of the family belonged to a particular occupational group is considered in Section 6.3. The age related patterns of children leaving home are also examined.

An investigation is then made into whether family structure varied with the occupation of the head of the family (Section 6.4). Family structure is compared to family size, to see if the latter influenced the former.

In Section 6.5 the occupations of the family members are compared to that of the head of the family. The occupational groups whose constituent families are typically composed of family members following similar occupations are identified. The range of alternative occupations (compared to that of the head of the family) followed by family members is also discussed. The patterns revealed are explained with reference to employment opportunities within the household.

The limitations of the sources employed in Section 6.5 are noted, and Section 6.6 tries to employ other

sources to assess womens' work which, it is suspected, was not recorded by official sources. This section outlines the type of work female family members were pursuing, and shows why the official sources failed to enumerate it. The contribution of women to production is reassessed.

Lodgers, an important group (in both social and economic terms) of non-family household members, are considered in Section 6.7. The incidence of the taking in of lodgers is compared against the occupation of the household head, and the implications of the patterns revealed are discussed.

The results of these analyses have implications for the study of small scale production and family form. These implications are discussed further in the conclusion (Section 6.8).

6.2 PATTERNS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION THROUGH MARRIAGE

The origin of the family unit was, of course, marriage. This section examines the patterns of inter-marriage between different occupational groups. It focuses on those marriages where the groom was a tradesman. The analysis is an attempt to measure the interaction, or exclusiveness, of those in the trades with, or against, other occupational groups. While

"an analysis based only on grooms gives only part of the picture; its rationale is that a man's chances of marrying a woman from a particular social group is a critical test of social barr-

iers."⁴

Control of the choice of marriage partners was influenced by familial attitudes, economic practicalities, social contacts and religious beliefs. Thus at one level choice of marriage partner represented a decision involving practical considerations concerned with the family strategy regarding 'getting by'. At another level the degree of interaction through marriage between occupational groups could reveal different patterns of social contact between them. Marriage was an "historically significant happening," and

"for the modestly respectable majority, such happenings were their regular and repeated acts of work, worship and leisure, and occasional, but still personal, events such as marriage, or moving house or job. If these happenings failed to add up to class consciousness, they certainly facilitate the reconstruction of class perceptions that underlay a latent class structure."⁵

However, it is also important not to overlook the importance of individual choice and feeling in what was a very personal matter. As has been noted

"True love is not something on which...theory has ever had much analytical purchase."⁶

Nevertheless, there were important social controls

⁴ Gray, R. 1976 *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. p. 111.

⁵ Dennis, R. 1987 "The lower middle class in Huddersfield in 1871" in Thrift, N. and Williams, P. (eds.) *Class and Space. The making of urban society*. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London. p. 106.

⁶ Cynthia Cockburn writing in *Marxism Today*, December 1986, p. 24.

influencing choice of marriage partner. For the English middle classes, for example, the choice of partner was

"set in a carefully controlled context of mutual values and religious concerns...[and] while compatibility was sought, romantic attraction was played down."

These controls can also be seen to have been operating in society in rural Scotland during the nineteenth century. In the local newspapers of Lowland Perthshire the regional news column often carried reports of elopements, successful or otherwise, and the occasional story of couples going to great lengths to escape the strictures of parental censure on their choice of partner. While such incidents were undoubtedly reported more for their sensation value, they do suggest that individuals were subjected to parental pressure regarding their choice of partner. The fiction of William Alexander gives examples of the attitudes towards suitable brides in the farming districts of north-east Scotland. In the novel *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk* Mrs. Birse, wife of a prosperous small tenant farmer, expresses her opinion to her eldest son that

"I'm richt weel seer't ye wud never luik owre yer

⁷ Davidoff, L. and Hall, C. 1987 *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class. 1780-1850*. Hutchison, London. pp. 219, 323.

shooder at nae servan' guine [servant girl]." ⁸

In the short story concerning Couper Sandy and his marriage prospects as a tenant farmer the situation was that

"the prevalent sentiment regarding matrimonial engagements was purely utilitarian. They did not talk about a young man or a young woman making a suitable match. What they said was 'a gweed bargain'; and that...directly implied the acquisition of money or its equivalent in the transaction." ⁹

Thus it is reasonable to expect that societal controls would have operated on the patterns of interaction through marriage between different occupational groups in the study area. It is also reasonable to speculate that the origin of these societal controls would have been in perceptions of economic, religious, and status considerations, along with personal or prevailing prejudice. The sample was therefore analysed to assess to what extent such controls influenced the contact of the craft group with others.

A sample of two hundred and ninety eight marriages was drawn from the Registrar General's marriage certificates. The sample consisted of all marriages where the groom was a tradesman in the period 1860-70. Thus the

⁸ Alexander, W. 1871 (reprint) *Johnny Gibb of Gushet-neuk*. Robert Walker and Lewis Smith, Aberdeen. p. 129 - the line translates from the dialect as 'I'm very sure that you would never look over your shoulder at any servant girl.'

⁹ Alexander, W. 1882 (reprint) "Couper Sandy" in *Sketches of Life Among My Ain Folk*. David Douglas, Edinburgh. p. 149. A couper was a cattle dealer.

analysis seeks to investigate interaction specifically between the craft sector and other groups. The parishes chosen were the same as for the census enumerators' books sample, plus four other similar parishes within Lowland Perthshire. The parishes sampled were Aberdalgie, Abernethy, Blackford, Collace, Errol, Forteviot, Longforgan, Meikle, Methven and Muthill.¹⁰

The degree of contact or exclusiveness between the crafts and other groups can be assessed in three ways - by examining the occupations of the brides of tradesmen, by analysing the occupations of the fathers-in-law of tradesmen, and by comparing the occupations of the fathers of tradesmen with those of the tradesmens' fathers-in-law. It has been suggested that female occupations were not strictly comparable to male occupations, and that the occupations of brides and grooms cannot be validly compared because of life cycle stages and the sexual division of labour.¹¹ However, the occupations of brides are worth considering, given that marriage involved a personal choice between two people, and that the status value of the bride's occupation must have had some effect where marriage was influenced

¹⁰ The marriage certificates are held in the Scottish Records Office.

¹¹ Foster, J. 1974 *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution. Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns*. Weidenfield & Nicolson, London. p. 261.

by social constraints. Thus Figure 6.1 shows the occupations of the brides of tradesmen in the sample. The distribution of single women and girls aged greater than eight years old in the 1861 census sample is also shown. This gives some idea of the proportion of women of marriageable age, plus those who would become of marriageable age, who followed certain occupations throughout the period 1860-70. This provides an estimate of the 'expected' proportion who would become the brides of tradesmen. The final column expresses the 'observed/expected' relationship. For example, a value of two in this column shows that double the proportion of brides originated in this occupational group than the proportion of their occurrence in the census population. In the case of 'tradeswomen' no figure was derived from the census due to poor enumeration of women in these occupations (see Section 6.5).

The most important occupation of the brides of tradesmen as revealed in Figure 6.1 was as domestic servants. To an extent this is not overly significant, as domestic service was often a life cycle stage which many women followed, leaving service upon marriage. However, there was probably some bias regarding the origins of the servants, with householders seeking a 'respectable' girl for a servant. It was noted in 1893, for example, that the daughters of crofters "who are of

Figure 6.1

Occupations of the brides of tradesmen, 1860-70

Bride's occupation	O % of brides	E % of single ¹ females 1861	O/E
Domestic servant	57.1	23.0	2.5
None or 'at home'	16.4	9.0	1.8
Retailer	0.3	0.3	1.0
Handloom weaver	8.7	9.0	1.0
Factory textile worker	6.0	7.0	0.9
Labourer	1.0	5.0	0.2
Farmer's daughter	3.7	19.0	0.2
Farm servant	0.7	6.0	0.1
Tradeswoman	5.7	- ²	-
Teacher	0.3	0.0	-

N=298

N=669

Source: S.R.O., Registrar General's marriage certificates, Census enumerators' books schedules.

¹ Aged eight or above in 1861.

² Inconsistently enumerated in the census, less than one percent.

a superior class, go into domestic service."¹² The fairly high value for those women enumerated as 'none' or 'at home' as brides of tradesmen may reflect more interaction with those families of higher status who kept their female family members from working, or kept their occupation hidden from enumerators. However, problems with the enumeration of women's work in both sources suggests that this figure should be treated with caution, and certainly there were more influences at work than status considerations regarding female children remaining at home.

Interaction between the craft and the handloom weaving sector was about what would have been predicted from the distribution of possible marriage partners. It is not possible to quantify how significant the choice of marriage partners who were employed in other trades was. The sample included marriages to women employed in the 'female' trades, such as dressmaking or seamstressing. But marriages were also found where the woman was working in a 'male' trade, typically in a less skilled position. Examples include 'saddler's daughter', 'shoe binder' and several 'machine workers in leather.' This was probably to some extent an example of the work characteristics affecting the pattern of marriages,

¹² P.P., XXXVI, 1893-94. *Royal Commission on Labour. The Agricultural Labourer.* p. 158.

rather than just social similarity.¹³ Tradesmen may have preferred to marry women who already worked in a similar trade so that they could help in the business. In addition, similar employment may have meant more social contact. In 1893 it was noted rather disparagingly that in Scotland

"In many instances tailors marry women engaged in their trade, and after marriage take advantage of their wife's labour to live in idleness."¹⁴

The cases in this sample included a shoemaker marrying a 'machine worker in leather', and a shoemaker marrying a 'shoe binder'. However, two other marriages were between a master baker and a 'saddler's daughter', and between a joiner and a 'machine worker in leather', so occupational similarities do not always explain the intermarriage of craft workers.

Low interaction was found between tradesmen and farmer's daughters, farm servants and labourers. Low interaction with the daughters of farmers and women who were farm servants probably reflects a geographical barrier to marriage.¹⁵ Probably less social contact was held with those women of both groups who lived on more distant farms. Contact was more likely with farmer's daughters who were more able to overcome the isolation of the farm through the use of the middle class

¹³ Foster, *op cit*, p. 262.

¹⁴ P.P., XXXVII(I), 1893. *Royal Commission on Labour. Employment of Women.* p. 269.

¹⁵ Foster, *op cit*, p. 262.

trappings of the pony and chaise, social visiting, and attendance at social events, particularly church going. Female farm servants would have been less mobile in this context, and also worked for long hours, prohibiting contact with village dwellers. However, such arguments make the very low interaction with labourers more significant as they were typically village dwellers, thus geographical distance (or lack of it) cannot be considered as important as social distance.

In some areas this geographical barrier probably also reduced marriage opportunities with factory textile workers, if the parish did not contain this type of industry. Though the observed/expected value suggests parity with opportunity, this value may have been higher in some areas. In Blairgowrie, for example, it was noted regarding the workers at Ballindalloch Cotton Mill that

"many girls brought up at this work...are now married and settled in this village. They make better wives for tradesmen than any others."¹⁶

Figure 6.2 shows the patterns of interaction through marriage of different groups by analysing the proportion of fathers-in-law that were drawn from each occupational group. Again an observed/expected value is given. It has been suggested that the occupations of

¹⁶ P.P., XX, 1833. *Royal Commission on the Employment of Children in Factories*. p. 46.

Figure 6.2

Occupations of the fathers-in-law of tradesmen, 1860-70

Father-in-law's occupation	O % of all fathers in-law	E % 1861 male household heads	O/E
Tradesman	45.4	22.0	2.1
Handloom weaver	8.5	7.0	1.2
Professional	6.4	6.0	1.1
Farmer	9.8	10.0	1.0
Labourer	13.2	13.0	1.0
Farm servant	5.8	10.0	0.6
Merchant/retailer	2.1	6.0	0.4
Agricultural labourer	6.8	18.0	0.4
Factory textile worker	1.0	8.0	0.1
Domestic servant	1.0	- ¹	-
	N=295	N=420	

Source: S.R.O., Registrar General's marriage certificates, Census enumerators' books sample.

¹ Less than one percent.

grooms may not have been strictly speaking comparable to those of their fathers-in-law at time of marriage due to life cycle differences.¹⁷ Again, however, the choice of partner involved a consideration of all aspects of the families involved, and thus such an analysis should still be valid.

The most significant result in this table is that the interaction between tradesmen and trade families was twice as high as would have been randomly predicted. Thus the interaction within the craft sector was the most important. Handloom weavers were the group with which interaction was the next highest, followed by the professionals. Marriages to the daughters of farmers and labourers was as expected. Interaction was low with the daughters of agricultural labourers, factory textile workers, the commercial sector and farm servants. From these results it appears that there was a social distance between the trades and farm servants, as the interaction with the daughter's of farmers shows that the geographical barriers could have been overcome. Outside of the craft sector it is obvious that there was overlap with other occupations of both high and low status. While social similarity as measured through marriage was obviously felt with higher status groups such as farmers and the professionals, there was also a degree of similarity with labourers and the less

¹⁷ Foster, *op cit*, p. 261.

economically stable handloom weaving sector. This overlap between the craft sector and both higher and lower status groups reflects the range of social (and economic) positions occupied by the trades. Unfortunately the analysis cannot be disaggregated by status divisions within the trade sector to examine this point further, but it is worthwhile noting the range of contacts with other groups.

The third analysis of marriage patterns compared the occupations of the fathers of grooms to those of the fathers of the brides. The rationale behind this is that

"socially the marriage partners were defined by the families out of which they were marrying."¹⁸

While such an approach avoids problems with comparing the occupations of individuals at different points in the life cycle, it does not allow for occupational and status changes in the children of the household heads, and the fact that brides and grooms may not have been living at home at the time of marriage. For these reasons the two previous types of analysis have been included. Figure 6.3 shows the results of comparing household heads, showing absolute values and these values as a percentage of the total number of marriages in the sample. It was not possible to calculate an expected value for these cases because the sample of

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Figure 6.3

Occupations of grooms' and brides' fathers in the marriages of tradesmen, 1860-70

Groom's father's occupation	Number of marriages Percentage of total								All
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1)Farmer	2	-	2	7	1	1	15	1	29
%	0.7	-	0.7	2.5	0.4	0.4	5.4	0.4	
2)Farm servant	-	1	1	4	-	-	9	1	16
%	-	0.4	0.4	1.4	-	-	3.2	0.4	
3)Handloom weaver	4	-	7	3	1	1	11	1	28
%	1.4	-	2.5	1.1	0.4	0.4	3.9	0.4	
4)Labourer	1	4	2	13	-	-	20	-	40
%	0.4	1.4	0.7	4.7	-	-	7.2	-	
5)Factory textiles	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	5
%	-	0.4	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.7	
6)Merchant/retailer	1	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	7
%	0.4	-	1.1	-	-	-	1.1	-	
7)Tradesmen	17	9	9	31	3	1	54	13	137
%	6.1	3.3	3.3	11.2	1.1	0.4	19.4	4.6	
8)Professional	2	1	-	3	-	-	10	-	16
%	0.7	0.4	-	1.1	-	-	3.6	-	
	27	17	24	61	5	3	123	18	278

Source: S.R.O., Registrar General's marriage certificates.

the marriages did not represent the total population of marriages, being a sample of those marriages where the groom was a tradesman, which would bias the results e.g. far more of the groom's fathers would be tradesmen due to the nature of occupational continuity and this would not reflect the situation in the total population.

This makes comparisons of the interactions between occupational groups hard, but broad comparisons can be made, and these are summarised in Figure 6.4. Looking at Figure 6.4 it is obvious that interactions between families in the craft sector were the most significant. Nineteen percent of marriages where both the groom and his father were tradesmen were to families where the head was also a tradesman. A further twenty three percent were marriages where a tradesman married into a family where the head was a tradesman, giving a total interaction of forty two percent within the craft sector. Twenty seven percent of marriages where only the groom was a tradesman involved contact with other social groups, and a further thirty one percent of marriages involved a tradesman whose father was also a tradesman marrying out of the craft sector. Thus, while in the majority of cases (fifty eight percent) where the groom was a tradesman the marriage involved contact with a different occupational group, the craft sector was still a significant source of brides.

Figure 6.4

Types of marriage interaction as a percentage of
total marriages, 1860-70

Craftsman	Craftsman	
		19%
Craftsman -- Bride		

Other	Craftsman	
		23%
Craftsman -- Bride		

Craftsman	Other	
		31%
Craftsman -- Bride		

Other	Other	
		27%
Craftsman -- Bride		

Key:

Occupations of:

Groom's father	Bride's father
Groom	----- Bride

Source: S.R.O., Registrar General's marriage certificates.

Examining Figure 6.3 more closely reveals that the largest single cell percentage was for those marriages where both fathers were tradesmen. Another important feature is that the sons of tradesmen who were themselves tradesmen were marrying into a wide range of families in occupational terms. Contact through marriage was made with all groups, from farmers and professionals, to labourers and farm servants. This was also true where the bride's father was a tradesman, with their daughters marrying into a range of groups. Again, it was unfortunately not possible to distinguish between cases where the groom was a journeyman or a master. The remaining marriages, those where only the groom was a tradesman, again show the range of different groups into which tradesmen were marrying.

This feature revealed by the marriage data suggests two further points regarding the social interaction of those involved in the trades with other groups. Firstly, it reflects the range of levels of enterprise that craft workers were engaged in. This varied from less skilled female workers and waged journeymen, through casual jobbing work perhaps combined with other occupations, to well established and 'respectable' tradespeople. In addition, it probably reflects the importance of a sense of community. Within these small rural communities people would have known each other better as individuals, which may have counted for more

than what can be ascertained regarding status from occupational titles. It is important not to be too simplistic when applying concepts such as status to individuals in the past.

All three types of analysis of the marriage patterns of tradesmen as grooms show the importance of contact through marriage *within* the craft sector. While reflecting to a certain extent the influence of occupational factors on the choice of marriage partner, this illustrates the importance to craft families, in terms of social suitability and status considerations, of social contact and identification within the craft sector. Thus there was social cohesion within the trades, but they did not form a totally exclusive group, particularly compared to the upper middle classes. There was interaction with a wide range of other occupational groups. Most importantly this contact involved interaction with both high and low status groups, from farmers and professionals, to labourers and farm servants.

6.3 FAMILY SIZE

An examination of how family size related to the occupation of the head of the family was made using census data for 1861. In this context 'family size' refers to the mean number of children in each family where the head of the family was married or widowed. Family size could have been affected by fert-

ility, attempts at family planning or by patterns of children leaving home. Family size, and the wish to control it, may have been influenced by the economic circumstances of the head of the family, and by family based strategies of production and reproduction. Thus it is possible that family size would vary with the occupation of the head of the family.

A study of the English Black Country using the 1851 census noted an average number of children of two point eight. Variation was noted between specific occupational groups, with nailers having an average of two point eight children, iron workers two point seven, and miners and glass workers two point five children on average. The higher value for nailers was related to an early marriage age.¹⁹ The silk masters of Lyon in the early nineteenth century were considered to have limited the number of children they had, giving an average of three point two in the period 1801-34.²⁰ These studies show that in other contexts family size was seen to vary with the occupation of the head of the household.

However, as Figure 6.5 shows, there was in fact little variation about the mean value in Lowland Perth-

¹⁹ Hopkins, E. 1977 "The decline of the family work unit in Black Country nailing" *International Review of Social History*, 22. pp. 185-7.

²⁰ Struminger, *op cit*, p. 215.

Figure 6.5

Mean number of children by occupation of
head of household, 1861

<u>Occupation of head</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>n</u>
Farmer	1.6	1.4	3.0	40
Farm servant	1.4	1.6	3.0	44
Handloom weaver	0.5	1.4	1.9	28
Agricultural labourer	1.3	1.5	2.8	77
Factory textile worker	1.9	1.6	3.5	32
Merchant/retailer	1.5	1.6	3.1	27
Tradesman	1.6	1.7	3.2	94
Professional	1.8	1.5	3.3	24
Labourer	1.4	1.3	2.7	54
All families	1.5	1.5	3.0	420

Source: S.R.O., Census enumerators' books sample.

shire of three children for most groups. The two groups having the largest family sizes were factory textile workers and professionals. Those which were furthest below the mean were the handloom weavers, labourers and agricultural labourers. The handloom weavers were obviously very different from the other groups in the sample, and this point will be returned to below.

Figure 6.6 shows the mean number of all children by the occupation of the head of household, broken down by the childrens' age group. These data allow an investigation of one of the possible influences on family size. The later age groups provide a crude measure of the patterns of leaving home of children. It has been suggested in a different context that keeping a child at home and spending a lot of material and emotional energy on them was a dominating feature of the modern family, and formed an important element in the bourgeois mode of family life as it developed structurally and ideologically. The position of children, particularly sons, it has been suggested, should give evidence of how far occupational groups adopted a bourgeois ideology of the family.²¹ At least, the study of the number of sons and daughters will provide some

²¹ Ehmer, J. 1984 "The artisan family in nineteenth century Austria: embourgeoisement of the petite bourgeoisie?" in Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G. (eds.) *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth Century Europe*. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. p. 198.

Figure 6.6

Mean number of children by age group and occupation
of household head, 1861

Occupation of head	Mean number of children aged			n
	0-11	12-20	20+	
Farmer	1.2	1.1	0.9	40
Farm servant	2.6	0.3	0.1	44
Handloom weaver	0.7	0.3	0.1	28
Agricultural labourer	2.0	0.7	0.3	77
Factory textile worker	1.9	1.2	0.4	32
Merchant/retailer	1.8	1.0	0.6	27
Tradesman	1.9	0.9	0.5	94
Professional	2.2	0.9	0.2	24
Labourer	1.2	0.6	0.4	54
All families	1.8	0.7	0.4	420

Source: S.R.O., Census enumerators' books sample.

indication of individual and family strategies regarding work, family and income, and can be used to explain the differences in family size.

The two older categories of children give some indication of the patterns of leaving home of children. The 0-11 age group gives a base value to which the values in the older categories can be compared. Some comparative material is also worth citing. In the south east of England in the nineteenth century the mean age of leaving home for male children in the agricultural sector was fourteen point eight years, and for apprentices fourteen point two years, but this varied geographically, by sex and by occupation. The eldest daughter often stayed in the household to look after the other children.²² In Lowland Perthshire apprenticeship commonly appeared to begin at the age of twelve, and was ended by the age of twenty. Most full time occupations are enumerated in the census at the age of twelve or over, though children were pursuing herding and other agricultural tasks, weaving and even factory textile work before then.

In the 12-20 age range the children of farmers and factory textile workers seem to have stayed at home more, while those of the commercial and the craft groups along with the professionals were slightly above

²² Snell, K.D.M. 1987 *Annals of the Labouring Poor*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. pp. 322-34.

average. Farm servants' children and those of handloom weavers seemed to have left home much earlier. In the 20+ age range farmers again have the highest values, with the craft and commercial groups again just above average. Farm servants and handloom weavers are again well below average, but there was a noticeable decline in the numbers of the children of professionals remaining at home. Factory textile workers' children seem to have left home more frequently by this age.

Patterns of leaving home were probably at least partly influenced by the ability of the head of the family to reward his or her children for their labour contribution to the family. Thus farmers' sons might have been expected to remain at home more than labourers, because there were potentially more work opportunities associated with the family.²³ Similarly, it is more likely that sons might have been expected to remain at home where there were economic opportunities within the family. This helps explain why sons seemed to stay at home longer in the farming, craft, and commercial sectors. By contrast, there were probably fewer economic opportunities in the families of farm servants, labourers and especially the handloom weavers (see the discussion in Section 6.5). Within the craft

²³ Anderson, M. 1971 *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. p. 96.

sector patterns of leaving home would probably vary with the economic circumstances of the trade concerned,²⁴ as seen here with the handloom weaving sector. Apart from the handloom weaving sector (which was exceptional in its economic circumstances), and the professionals, there appeared to be a difference between the wage earning and self employed groups regarding the experience of sons and daughters in the 20+ age range, as noted above. However, though patterns of leaving home varied by occupation, they do not totally explain the variation in family size in every case.

Figure 6.7 shows the results of an analysis of the male: female sex ratios of the children of household heads in certain occupations. This allows the investigation of whether there was any variation in the patterns of leaving home of male and female children. For the population of Scotland, and also for the population of the county of Perthshire, the male:female ratio in 1861 was one point one. Thus any variation from such a ratio within a group of families might suggest that some sort of gender specific process was operating, in this case gender specific patterns of leaving home. A ratio below one point one might indicate that more males than females were remaining in the household at later ages, and any variation above

²⁴ Snell, *op cit*, p. 330; Ehmer, *op cit*, p. 206.

Figure 6.7

Male:female ratios by age and occupation of household head, 1861

Occupation of head	0-11	12-20	20+	All ages	n
Farmer	0.8	1.1	0.7	0.9	40
Farm servant	1.0	1.8	-	1.1	44
Handloom weaver	2.3	1.3	4.8	2.7	28
Agricultural labourer	1.0	1.5	3.3	1.2	77
Factory textile worker	0.7	0.7	3.3	0.9	32
Merchant/retailer	1.0	1.1	-	1.1	27
Tradesman	1.1	0.8	1.7	1.1	94
Professional	1.0	0.5	1.6	0.9	24
Labourer	0.8	1.0	1.6	0.9	54
All families	1.0	0.9	1.9	1.0	420
Male:female ratio for Scotland				1.1	
Male:female ratio for Perthshire				1.1	

Source: S.R.O., Census enumerators' books sample; P.P., L, 1862. Census. p. xl.

N.B. a ratio of 1.0 represents the same number of male and female children. A ratio of greater than one represents a greater proportion of female children and vice versa.

would indicate the opposite.

Examining the ratios of all children it is obvious that there was very little variation from the mean, suggesting that numbers of male and female children were fairly equal. However, the one notable exception is once again the handloom weavers.

Looking at the age breakdown of the ratios a slightly more complex picture emerges. One overall pattern is that in almost all cases females were staying at home longer than males, as is shown by the increase in the ratio from the 12-20 age group to the 20+ age group. Probably female children were more likely to remain at home until marriage, particularly where they were required to assist with childcare and domestic duties. The one exception to this pattern is in the farming households where males were more typical in the 20+ age group. The handloom weaving families show a much larger ratio in the 20+ age group, suggesting that many more female children were remaining at home. Similarly, for south east England it was noted that the age of leaving home for male children in weaving, knitting and wool combing households - all heavily exploited trades, and more often women's work - was very early.²⁵ The families of factory textile workers and agricultural labourers also showed a high ratio of females in the 20+ age group, but most of the

²⁵ Snell, *op cit*, p. 330.

other groups were close to the mean. Those families headed by tradespeople, professionals and labourers, however, showed a slightly higher instance of male children remaining in the 20+ age group.

The patterns of children leaving home are referred to further below, with reference to other features of family structure and organisation.

6.4 FAMILY STRUCTURE

The main thrust of this chapter is that the interaction of the family, local labour markets and production affected the experience of individuals within the families forming different socio-economic groups in different ways. One way in which this may have been apparent was in the family structure. A study of artisan families in Austria in the nineteenth century noted that families had different structures depending on the economic position of the different trades they were involved in.²⁶ An investigation was made as to whether family structure varied with the occupation of the head of the family.²⁷ It is important to distinguish that it is *family* structure that is considered in this section, not household, i.e. non-family members are excluded from this analysis. Non-

²⁶ Ehmer, *op cit*, pp. 195-218.

²⁷ The classification used is adopted from Anderson, *op cit*, p. 44.

Figure 6.8

Family structure by occupation of head of household, 1861

Family structure	Occupation of head of household								
	A l l	F a r m e r	F a r m S e r v .	W e a v e r	L a b o u r e r %	T e x t i l e s	C o m m e r c i a l	T r a d e s	P r o f e s s i o n
HEAD ALONE/ UNRELATED PERSONS	20	11	2	37	15	11	21	14	23
NUCLEAR ¹	57	57	89	30	61	66	62	64	58
Childless married couples	8	13	7	11	7	4	6	14	15
Married/widowed +unmarried kids	49	44	82	19	54	62	56	50	43
STEM	6	6	2	5	9	7	0	4	3
Lineally related married persons	6	6	2	5	9	7	0	4	3
" plus other kin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
COMPOSITE	17	27	7	28	15	15	18	20	18
Unmarried siblings	4	6	2	11	1	4	0	5	5
Nuclear plus other kin	13	21	5	17	14	11	18	15	13
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N	852	53	54	79	192	45	43	151	40

Source: Census enumerator's books sample.

¹Lines with headings in the larger font are totals of the lines in the smaller font.

family members are considered in Section 6.7.

Figure 6.8 shows the results of this analysis using the 1861 census data. Except for those cases outlined below, the 1851 data showed very similar patterns to 1861, and have not been reproduced here. Considering the 'head alone/unrelated persons' category, the only results worthy of note are the extreme ones. Farm servants showed a very low percentage of families of this type, while handloom weavers had the highest percentage. 'Stem' type families (those with two or more lineally-related, married couples) were uncommon among all groups, and did not produce any consistent pattern.

The two remaining types of family structure, the 'nuclear' and the 'composite' types, show a more consistent pattern. Composite families were those comprising a nuclear family with children plus other kin, or comprising two or more unmarried siblings. Figure 6.9 summarises this by ranking the results, and also compares them to the ranks of family size by occupational group. Within the composite category there appears to have been a different incidence of composite family structure which varied between the experience of the families of wage earners and the self employed. The self employed were apparently more likely to live in a composite type of family, particularly where the head of the family was engaged in the trades (including

Figure 6.9

Rankings by family size, % composite and % nuclear, 1861

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>size</u>	<u>% composite</u>	<u>% nuclear</u>
Factory textiles	1	6	2
Professional	2	4	6
Tradesman	3	3	3
Commercial	4	4	4
Farmer	5	2	7
Farm servant	5	8	1
Labourer	7	6	5
Weaver	8	1	8

weaving) or farming. In general, the self employed appeared to show a lower incidence of families of the nuclear type. The only exception here was in the case of trade families, but as noted previously it was not possible to consistently distinguish between the self employed and wage earners within this group.

Figure 6.9 also shows the rank values of the family size of the same occupational groups. This allows an investigation of whether family structure was simply related to family size. For example, where a family had a large number of children, it might have been less likely to have taken in other family relatives, due to considerations of space alone if nothing else. Thus occupational groups where family size was large might be more likely to have a nuclear structure, and less likely to have been composite in structure. However, a comparison of the ranks of the two variables suggests that family structure is not in fact related to family size. Thus other processes must have been operating that affected the structure of the family. One possible influence was the strategies adopted by families regarding how they organised their productive labour to ensure a family income, and this is discussed further in Section 6.5.

As noted above, for most groups there was little change in the relative proportions of families which fell into a particular structure between 1851 and 1861.

In any case, such changes would be difficult to interpret because changes in the manner of census taking would lead to an increase in the apparent proportion of nuclear families and 'head alone' types. For the sample used here, 'head alone' families increased their proportion of the total from seventeen percent (N=867) to twenty percent (N=852), but the incidence of nuclear families actually decreased (sixty five percent in 1851 and fifty seven percent in 1861). Thus it would only be appropriate to examine changes where they were of a large magnitude. In the farming sector there was a notable decrease in the proportion of stem families (nineteen percent down to six percent between 1851 and 1861), and an increase in the proportion of composite families (seventeen percent up to twenty seven percent). This probably reflects the ageing of the population, and retirement or death of farmers. Stem families were common for farmers in 1851 because there were many cases of sons marrying and remaining in the family household, probably because they were waiting to inherit the farm (see Section 6.5). By 1861 many of them had probably done so, and the composite form had become even more common for farming families.

The other group for which change between 1851 and 1861 was noticeable was the handloom weavers. 'Head alone/unrelated persons' type families became much more common (increasing from eighteen percent to thirty

seven percent), as did composite types (from twenty one percent to twenty eight percent), and the incidence of nuclear families decreased from fifty four percent to thirty percent. The form and organisation of the handloom weaving family was radically altered as the economic condition of the trade deteriorated. By 1861 the distribution of family types within this sector was very different from any other group including, significantly, the other trades. This point is returned to below.

In the following section the occupations of family members are analysed, and the resulting patterns and their explanations go some way to explaining the differences in family structure observed here. This section has suggested that family structure varied according to the occupation of the family head. Therefore it is worthwhile proceeding to analyse how the productive work of individual family members was organised within the household, and how this related to the occupation of the head and family structure.

6.5 FAMILY OCCUPATIONS

Figure 6.10 shows the occupations of female relatives related to the occupation of the head of household. It is important to note initially the large numbers of women who were returned as having no occupation in the census. This precludes any attempt at displaying the results of the analysis as percentages

Figure 6.10

Occupations of the heads of households and
their female relatives, 1861

Head of household	Occupation of female relative ¹											T o t a l
	N o n e	H o u s e h o l d	F a r m e r	F a r m S e r v .	W e a v e r	L a b o r e r	T e x t i l e s	D o m . S e r v .	C o m m e r c i a l	T r a d e s	P r o f e s s i o n	
Farmer	73	2	31	-	1	1	-	7	-	-	-	115
Farm serv.	53	1	-	3	2	1	-	3	-	-	-	63
HLW	40	2	-	-	80	1	-	3	1	5	-	132
Lab.	133	5	-	2	21	12	13	3	-	3	-	192
Text- tiles	29	2	-	-	-	-	23	-	-	-	-	54
Comm.	36	1	-	-	7	-	2	2	2	5	-	55
Trades	143	6	-	1	31	1	8	8	-	6	-	204
Prof.	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	46
Total	550	19	31	6	142	16	46	28	3	19	1	861

Source: S.R.O., Census enumerator's books sample.

¹Female relatives aged twelve or over who were not scholars.

or otherwise. It also means that the results presented in this table are at best an indication of the occupations followed by female family members. The low number of women enumerated as performing household tasks, such as 'housekeeper' or 'domestic duties', suggest that the work of women in the home was not considered as work by the census compilers.

The census data also fail to account for children that had left home, and as noted in Section 6.4 this varied by occupation of the family head. When considering the commercial sector, that is the merchants and retailers, the cell sizes are consistently small and are really not significant enough for analysis. The results in this table can thus only be interpreted in two ways; firstly by looking at the range of occupations followed by female relatives, and secondly by locating the larger cell totals.

Almost all heads of households had female relatives in domestic service, again pointing to it^s being a common life cycle stage before marriage. With the exception of the relatives of factory textile workers and the professionals, female relatives could be found in a range of occupations which were different from those of the head of the household.

However, it appears that in certain occupational groups there was a tendency for female relatives to follow an occupation similar to the head of household.

Large cell totals such as these were found for families where the head was a farmer, handloom weaver, labourer, or a factory textile worker. As noted in Section 6.4 the children of labourers, farmers and textile workers were more likely to stay at home. This was not the case for farm servants (where any female relatives following the same occupation would have been more likely to have been away from home, as shown in Figures 6.6 and 6.7), and apparently not for those families involved in small scale craft production and retailing.

Figure 6.11 attempts to analyse the same topic, but using the occupations from the marriage certificate sample. Thus the sample is representative of how the occupations of the brides of tradesmen relate to the brides' fathers' occupation. Again, domestic service was a common occupation for the daughters of all occupations, except apparently in the factory textiles group. The daughters of tradesmen were also found to be following a range of occupations, but were concentrated into domestic service and also the trades themselves. This latter point is more apparent from this data than from the census data.

In addition, a relatively high proportion of tradesmens' daughters were enumerated as 'at home', or as having no occupation. This suggests that, probably for status reasons, efforts were made in the craft sector to avoid having female relatives working, or to

Figure 6.11

Occupations of tradesmens' brides compared to the occupations of the brides' fathers, 1860-70

Bride's occupation	Number of cases Percentage									
	Bride's father's occupation									
	F a r m e r	F a r m S e r v .	W e a v e r	L a b o u r e r	T e x t i l e s	D o m e s t i c	C o m m e r c i a l	T r a d e s m a n	P r o f e s s i o n	T o t a l
Domestic service	12 4.1	14 4.8	12 4.1	40 13.8	-	2 0.7	3 1.0	80 27.5	5 1.7	168
Farmer's daughter	10 3.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Farm servant	-	-	-	1 0.3	-	-	-	1 0.3	1 0.3	3
Handloom weaver	-	2 0.7	8 0	7 2.4	-	-	-	9 3.1	-	26
Labourer	-	-	-	2 0.7	-	-	-	1 0.3	-	3
Factory textiles	-	-	1 0.3	3 1.0	2 0.7	-	-	11 3.8	-	17
Retailer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 0.7	-	2
Tradeswoman	-	1 0.3	1 0.3	4 1.4	-	-	-	9 3.1	-	15
Teacher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 0.3	1 0.3	2
None/at home	6 2.1	-	3 1.0	3 1.0	-	-	2 0.7	25 8.6	7 2.4	46
Total	28	17	24	60	2	2	5	139	14	291

Source: S.R.O., Registrar General's marriage certificates.

not reveal any such work to the clerk or minister completing the certificate. It is noticeable in this respect that the next two highest groups in the 'no occupation/at home' category were farmers and the professionals. The only other reasonably high cell totals which showed a similarity of occupations between the head of the household and their daughters were in farming and handloom weaving, which supports the picture derived from Figure 6.10.

Figure 6.12 again uses the census material, this time to relate the occupations of the heads of households to that of their sons. Similar patterns emerge as were seen in the case of female relatives. High cell totals were found in the farming, labouring, and textile sectors, further suggesting that family members were following similar occupations to the heads of households in these sectors. Unlike the occupations of female members, however, it appears that continuation of occupation was important in the craft sector between father and son. It is notable that the trades were the only occupations into which all the other occupational groups contributed workers.

Figure 6.13 uses the marriage certificate data to examine more closely the occupational similarity between father and son where the son was a tradesman. The 1861 census sample is used to give an observed/expected value. Again, it can be seen that the craft sector was

Figure 6.12

Occupations of fathers and sons, 1861

Father's occupation	Son's occupation									T o t a l
	F a r m e r	F a r m S e r v .	W e a v e r	L a b o u r e r	T e x t i l e s	D o m . S e r v .	C o m m e r c i a l	T r a d e s m a n	P r o f e s s i o n	
Farmer	37	3	-	-	-	-	2	4	2	48
Farm servant	-	2	1	3	-	-	-	1	-	7
Handloom weaver	-	1	2	7	1	-	2	4	2	19
Labourer	-	3	5	21	6	-	2	7	2	46
Factory textiles	-	-	1	2	16	-	-	5	2	26
Domestic servant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commercial	1	-	-	3	-	-	2	2	2	10
Tradesman	1	2	3	10	1	1	3	48	2	71
Professional	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	1	7
Total	39	11	12	46	25	1	11	76	13	234

Source: S.R.O., Census enumerator's books sample.

Figure 6.13

Occupations of tradesmens' fathers, 1860-70

Occupation of father	O %	E % of 1861 household heads	O/E
Tradesman	47.7	22.0	2.2
Handloom weaver	10.5	7.0	1.5
Professional	7.4	6.0	1.2
Farmer	10.9	10.0	1.1
Labourer	11.2	13.0	0.9
Farm servant	5.6	10.0	0.6
Merchant/retailer	2.5	6.0	0.4
Agricultural labourer	3.2	18.0	0.2
Factory textiles	1.1	8.0	0.1
	N=285	N=420	

Source: S.R.O., Registrar General's marriage certificates, Census enumerator's books sample.

composed of individuals who derived from a wide range of occupational backgrounds. After those in the crafts, the professionals and the farmers were the next most common groups to put their sons to a trade. This is significant, because it suggests that the following of a trade was considered to be economically worthwhile. In addition, the fact that higher status groups were putting their sons to a trade suggests that it was also a socially acceptable form of occupation, or at least offered the chance for social advancement in the future. This is in marked contrast to the opportunities presented by the handloom weaving sector (see below), suggesting that, by contrast, the other trades were more economically viable.

Again, however, it is clear that the majority of sons following a trade came from a background where the head of the household was engaged in the trades (including handloom weaving). This feature backs up the suggestion that the trades continued to be seen as a viable occupation, this time by tradespeople themselves. In addition, it points to the importance of the family business as a means of passing on skills and resources to the sons of craftsmen.

It is noticeable that, with the exception of the merchant/retailer group, there is again an apparent divide between the experience of those families pursuing wage labour and those in self employment. The

individuals making up the families comprising the wage earning groups may have shown more similarity of occupation than is revealed here. However, the important point is that if they did so, they did not follow similar occupations within a family or household setting. They were more likely to have left home, as shown in Section 6.3. Thus the organisation of the family within these groups appeared to have been different.

In the farming sector the similarity between the occupations of the family members can be explained by the work opportunities present on the family farm. In Killin parish in 1835 on the smaller farms this was true of

"most of the tenants together with their families being in the habit of working with their own hands."²⁸

Even by 1900 on the smaller farms "the wives and daughters do a great deal of fieldwork."²⁹ It was not unusual for farmer's sons also to take up farming, particularly with the prospect of inheriting the family farm. Indeed it was noted of Scotland in general that

"the sons of farmers are all anxious to be farmers, and if a farmer has three or four sons, it is with difficulty he can prevail on any one of them to

²⁸ S.R.O., *Royal Commission on Religious Instruction (Scotland)*, 1835. HH37/67.

²⁹ P.P., LXXXII, 1900. *Report by Mr. Wilson Fox on the Wages and Earnings of Agricultural Labourers in the United Kingdom*. p. 68.

follow any other profession."³⁰

It is likely that the occupations followed by family members were controlled to an extent by the family ideology and by status considerations. Certainly there were both age-based and gendered patterns of occupational similarity. The census sample suggests that the *q*/ oldest son was usually closest to the family head in occupation, and that the 'best' opportunities went to the male children. Referring once again to the fiction of William Alexander, the tenant farming family of the Birses had their children's future carefully planned:

"Mrs. Birse had a family of three sons and one daughter, and she had already begun to lay plans for their future establishment in life. The elder son, Peter, junior, was destined to succeed his father as farmer of Clinkstyle; the second, Rob, must be provided with a farm as soon as he was ready for it; the youngest, Benjamin, was to get 'leernin'; and the daughter would, of course, be married off in due season to the best advantage."³¹

While there was a strong continuation of occupation between heads of households who were handloom weavers and their female relatives, this was not the case in father-son occupational continuity in this trade in 1861. This latter point is in marked contrast to the same cell total for 1851, where a total of twenty three sons from one hundred and nine households (compared to two sons from seventy nine households in

³⁰ P.P., V, 1838. *Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture*. p. 125.

³¹ Alexander, 1871, *op cit*, p. 36.

1861) were found to be following their fathers as handloom weavers. Here, as in many other features of families examined in this chapter, it is obvious that the handloom weaving families were undergoing structural changes distinct from that of other self employed groups, and also the waged groups. These changes were undoubtedly related to the declining economic condition of the trade. Women and children formed a high proportion of the labour force in handloom weaving, and their importance increased as all available family members were put to work in response to falling living standards.³² Indeed, it was stated of the trade in the Perth area that

"many parents are in such necessitous circumstances, that they find themselves obliged to avail themselves of the services of their children at as early an age as possible. Now there is no trade which children commence so early as that of a handloom weaver."³³

That was the situation in 1834, but by 1861 the trade had obviously declined to such an extent that few sons of handloom weavers were taking it up.

This was compensated for within weaving families by employing increasing numbers of female relatives. This process was also seen in the Leicestershire rural

³² Murray, N. 1978 *The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers, 1790-1850: A Social History*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. p. 28.

³³ P.P., X, 1834. *Select Committee on the Handloom Weavers Petitions*. p. 216.

hosiery trade. The increasing economic instability of the wrought hose trade was accompanied by an increase in the employment of women using narrow knitting frames. This represented the response of rural families to decreasing wages and intermittent unemployment, and they brought additional female family members into the trade when work was available in order to maintain the family income.³⁴

A similar process would seem to have been occurring in Lowland Perthshire in handloom weaving, which also explains the high proportion of composite families and also the high male:female sex ratio within the families of that sector. The handloom weavers showed a high incidence of families with structures of the 'head alone/unrelated persons' type in 1861 (see Section 6.4). This can be explained by the younger members of families turning to other occupations, and leaving the older members, unable to undertake heavy work such as labouring, to continue in the trade. Of the Coupar Angus weavers and winders it was stated in 1869 that

"this class...are now principally the aged and infirm, who cannot turn their hands to anything else."³⁵

³⁴ Osterud, N.G. 1986 "Gender divisions and organisation in the Leicester hosiery industry" in John, A.V. (ed.) *Unequal opportunities. Women's employment in England, 1800-1918*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. p. 51.

³⁵ *Courier*, January 19, 1869.

However, despite the poor economic circumstances of the handloom weaving trade, the above tables show that a range of other occupations, including high status groups, continued to put their children into the trade. This would seem to have been inconsistent with the low opportunities offered by this line of work. However, this can be explained by the lack of controls on entry to the trade. Formal apprenticeship had declined markedly even before 1850.³⁶ In the census sample itself it is noticeable that children were rarely found enumerated as apprentices, although they were in the other trades. Thus the key to this pattern lies in the ease of entry of very young children to the trade, because although

"it is not worth anyone's while to put their children to the loom if they can help it; I have known mechanics of other descriptions put their children to it at an early period, intending to put them to other trades afterwards, a smith or a wright, or whatever it might be; they take the advantage of going to the loom, a little money being given to bring them on in that way."³⁷

Factory textiles was apparently the only sector among the wage earners, apart from labouring, where household members followed similar occupations to the head of household. This partly reflects the dominance of the textile industry within the sample site on the local labour market. However, the common occurrence of households where all the members were occupied in

³⁶ Murray, *op cit*, p. 29.

³⁷ P.P., X, 1834, p. 226-7.

textiles also relates to the recruitment of labour. A feature of the textile mills of the area was the recruitment of other family members by male textile workers in supervisory roles within the factories. One overseer in the preparing department at Grimond's flax spinning mill near Blairgowrie employed his four daughters at the mill. Although children were often ill with the damp and long hours, it was stated "they force them into mills for a livelihood."³⁸

The strong continuation of occupation between father and son in the craft sector suggests the importance of the family to the continuation of the craft enterprise. It also highlights the importance of family contacts in the recruitment of labour. This can be analysed further using the census. Figure 6.14 illustrates the results of attempting to analyse the origins of apprentices and journeymen in craft firms, in terms of whether they were related to the head of household who was a master tradesman. No women were found enumerated as employers. There are limitations in using the census for this kind of analysis. It is only possible with regard to those households where the census records the head as a master or employing labour, and where the workmen were living in the same household,

³⁸ P.P., XX, 1833. *First Report on Employment of Children in Factories. Examinations* Al. p. 63.

Figure 6.14

Proportions of workforce as family or non-family members,
1851 and 1861

<u>Date</u>		<u>Family</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Non-family</u>	<u>n</u>
1851	Apprentices	30		70	40
	Journeyman	30		70	50
1861	Apprentices	41		59	17
	Journeyman	47		53	38

Source: S.R.O., Census enumerators' books sample.

and such features were not consistently recorded. Some of the workforce was not resident in the house of the employer, but as the analysis below indicates this appears to have been true of a small proportion of the workforce only. The children of master tradesmen could have left home to take up an apprenticeship or another occupation elsewhere, with an employer who may or may not have been related.

Due to inconsistent enumeration of employer status the 1861 sample size for households with apprentices is small. However, overall a consistent pattern is produced, which suggests that the data are valid. In 1851 nearly one-third of both apprentices and journeymen were related to their employer. The figures for 1861 show a greater proportion (over forty percent) of the workforce having their origins within the family. The proportions for apprentices and journeymen were very similar to each other in both sample years, which perhaps suggests that the family business remained important both for training and continued employment.

The experience of the remaining members of the workforce is also illuminating regarding the organisation of the household within the craft sector. It is possible using the census to examine the residence patterns of the workforce *who were not family members*, in terms of whether they resided with their employer or not (see Figure 6.15). This was done by examining those

Figure 6.15

Residence patterns of non-family apprentices and journeyman,
1851 and 1861

Date	Living in employer's household	Not living in employer's household	N
1851	71	29	31
1861	65	35	34

Source: S.R.O., Census enumerators' books sample.

households where the head was enumerated as a master craftsman or employer of labour, and classifying the workforce as living with their employer if they were found in the household, and living apart if not present. This would have been distorted to a very small extent by the fact that the census is a snapshot view of the household on a particular night. Members of the workforce may have been absent just for that night, or the census may have fallen during a slack period when journeymen had been laid off. However, it is not considered that this would have affected the results unduly. This table shows that even those members of the workforce who were not related to their employer typically lived with their employer's family in both 1851 and 1861, with only around one-third living elsewhere.

6.6 WOMEN'S WORK AND FAMILY OCCUPATIONS

As has been pointed out, there *is* a number of problems with using sources such as the census to assess women's work (see Chapter Two, Section 2.3.2). Therefore there is good reason for questioning some of the patterns revealed by the analysis in Section 6.5. For example, was it really the case that while there was a great deal of continuity in the occupations of fathers and sons in the craft sector there was no similar relationship for female family members? What evidence is there that the large number of women

seemingly not performing productive work were in fact involved in such work in some way?

Unfortunately it is not possible to address this latter question on a systematic basis which could be used to directly supplement the tables presented in Section 6.5. However, it is possible to outline the way in which women were involved in the local labour markets, and in productive work which contributed to the family income, in ways which the census does not reveal. Productive work for most women was pursued in addition to the many household tasks, including child-bearing and rearing, that were performed.

Probably the greatest source of employment in the area for female family members outside of the household was in agriculture. Agricultural occupations were a common source of full time women's work in general, but they also offered opportunities for part time employment. The general engagement of women in agriculture was distinctive in Scotland as compared to England, as was noted in 1870

"The Scotch practice again differs from the English in the much more extensive practice of employing women. Throughout the whole of my district women are employed in all the lighter, and in not a few of the heavier operations of farm labour."³⁹

Women performed a whole range of tasks in agriculture.

³⁹ P.P., XIII, 1870. *Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture. Fourth Report of the Commissioners.* p. 47.

In the 1830s and 1840s women were involved in "the labours of the field", including planting, lifting and hoeing potatoes and turnips, and haymaking.⁴⁰ One farmer in Auchtergaven parish stated in 1867 that he employed a number of women

"some married and some single, who assist in haymaking and harvesting, pull turnips, pick up stones, spread dung, hoe potatoes, single turnips, attend the thrashing mill, and do any other farm work for which they are able. In turnip thinning time I have often from 50 to 60 [women]."⁴¹

Opportunities thus existed for married women in this sector, as instanced in Dron parish in 1867, where it was stated that

"married women all work during the harvest and some of them do light work at other times of the year."⁴²

It is likely that these married and single women for the most part lived near to the farms, and it is thus not unreasonable to assume that the patterns revealed applied to the women in the census sample. Migrant Highland and Irish women were also employed, particularly at harvest time, and especially as the scarcity of women workers increased in the area in the latter

⁴⁰ N.S.A., Vol. X, pp. 186, 283, 1218.

⁴¹ P.P., XIII, 1870, p. 71; see also p. 90 for similar evidence from St. Martin's parish.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

half of the century.⁴³ However, for the most part

"women and children rarely come over a mile to their work. The great majority live on the farms upon which they work."⁴⁴

Of eighteen statements of the distance travelled by women to perform agricultural work in 1867 the average distance was one and a quarter miles. Women were brought from Perth, and villages such as Scone, Methven, Muthill and Crieff.⁴⁵ These women belonged to a range of family types in terms of the occupation of the head of household. On the smaller farms the farmer and his relatives were an important source of labour throughout the century, as noted above. In mid century it was noted in Errol parish that

"the wives and daughters of farm labourers are generally employed."⁴⁶

In Kinnaird parish it was generally the sons and daughters of the ploughmen residing on the farm, or of labourers residing in the parish.⁴⁷

However, these women workers were also drawn from other households. In 1900 it was noted of Scotland in general that

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 76; Devine, T.M. 1984 "Women workers, 1850-1914" in Devine, T.M. (ed.) *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 98-123; Gray, M. 1984 "Farm Workers in North East Scotland" in Devine (ed.), *op cit*, pp. 10-28.

⁴⁴ P.P., XIII, 1870, p. 68; see also p. 72.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

"the women workers are generally the daughter, sometimes the wives of the men living in cottages and working on the same farm. Near towns...they are...sometimes the daughters of artisans."⁴⁸

Nearer the middle of the century this was also true of the Perthshire towns and villages. For example

"the inhabitants of the village of Scone are chiefly weavers or artisans etc. The head of the family goes to Perth, or anywhere else where work can be obtained, and the children of twelve or fourteen and women are employed by the neighbouring farmers in summer or autumn."⁴⁹

Until its decline in the late nineteenth century, the families of handloom weavers provided a great proportion of the female labour requirements in Lowland Perthshire.⁵⁰ Thus it is reasonable to expect that many of the women from various families would have been employed in agricultural work, despite this not being recorded by the census.

More important than the actual tasks performed by women in agriculture was the *nature* of the work and its ideological context. Firstly, the work performed by women was irregular, specifically seasonal.

"Field labour, which cannot, from its nature, be constant, will not support a family"

it was stated in 1867.⁵¹ The labour returns of twenty two farmers in Perthshire show the seasonal nature of the demand for female labour (see Figure 6.16). Most

⁴⁸ P.P., LXXXII, 1900, p. 67-8.

⁴⁹ P.P., XIII, 1870, p. 90.

⁵⁰ P.P., X, 1834, p. 226; P.P., XIII, 1870, p. 50; Gray, *op cit*, p. 19.

⁵¹ P.P., XIII, 1870, p. 50.

Figure 6.16

Labour returns for twenty two Perthshire farmers, 1867

<u>Season</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Spring	299	186
Summer	308	256
Autumn	331	393
Winter	301	130

Source: P.P., XIII, 1870, p. 184.

importantly, the peak demand occurred in the autumn, whereas the census was taken in the spring. Thus even if such work had been enumerated in the census, it would not have been recorded as it occurred later in the year.

Another important point regarding women's work was that it was gendered i.e. certain agricultural tasks were seen as correct work for women rather than men. For example, women had a monopoly on milk and cheese-making, but did not work with horses, and pursued clearly separated tasks during harvest.⁵² Social attitudes regarding what constituted male or female work influenced the labour market for women's work. This kind of attitude, from the male point of view at least, also prevailed in Lowland Perthshire. Landowner Sir Robert Menzies stated in evidence in 1870 that

"the lighter and easier work is that recognised as women's work, and there is never any difficulty on the subject."⁵³

This kind of perception of what constituted women's work affected their earning power in the labour market. As one witness noted

"speaking relatively, I think the wages they receive are lower than those paid to men as measured by the work they do."⁵⁴

⁵² Devine, *op cit*, p. 98; Howatson, W. 1984 "Grain Harvesting and Harvesters" in Devine (ed.), *op cit*, p. 126.

⁵³ P.P., XIII, 1870, p. 67.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

Another feature of women's work in agriculture was that both its pursuit by female family members and its recognition by the male family members was conditioned by the different values (based on status considerations) of the male heads of household. Few hinds would allow their wives to work in the fields after marriage.⁵⁵ Contrast the opinion of one foreman in Inchture parish, that

"my wife never works out except in harvest, when I think they should all work out. At other times I never see that a man's family is any better if his wife works out"⁵⁶

with the view of an agricultural labourers' wife

"married women like fine to work out when they can win (get), but I dont think farm work profits them much."⁵⁷

Thus the type of work that women performed in agriculture, outside of full time employment, was irregular, seasonal, poorly paid, and subject to the status aspirations of male heads of households, both in its pursuit and recognition.

While formerly the textile industry provided a great deal of home working which could have been accommodated along with domestic tasks, this had been greatly reduced by the mechanisation of the processes involved. Even by 1834 it was stated that previously

⁵⁵ Orr, A. 1984 "Farm Servants and Farm Labour in the Forth Valley and South-East Lowlands" in Devine (ed.), *op cit*, p. 38.

⁵⁶ P.P., XIII, 1870, p. 76.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

"it was the great work of the women of the country to spin the linen yarn by hand; now that is almost wholly superceded...it is chiefly produced by power."⁵⁸

Such work had become by mid century full time productive work. At Blairgowrie in 1843 five spinning mills employed one hundred and thirty four women, and women also gained employment in the associated activities of printing, bleaching and dyeing. At Tibbermore print fields sixty seven women were employed as drawers, engravers, cutters and printers, though it was stated that their work was irregular in duration.⁵⁹ In the bleachfields of Stormontfield, Tulloch and Almondbank women were employed as bleachers, beetlers and dyers.⁶⁰

However, as was noted in many industries, with industrialization the demands of wage labour increasingly conflicted with women's domestic duties. The terms of labour took little account of household needs in most cases. Industrial jobs were usually in a specific location away from the home and precluded an easy reconciliation of married women's activities, and the resolution of the conflict was for married women not to work unless family finances required it. Within

⁵⁸ P.P., X, 1834, p. 183; see also N.S.A., Vol. X, pp. 236, 283, 922.

⁵⁹ N.S.A., Vol. X, pp. 921, 1035.

⁶⁰ P.P., XI, 1857-8. *Report from the Select Committee on Bleaching and Dyeing Works*. p. 21; S.R.O., Census enumerators' books sample, 1861.

the textile industry of Lowland Perthshire this sometimes meant that married women were excluded, which must have forced them into the casual labour market. At Stanley cotton mills women were employed as reelers but not spinners on the grounds that "they cannot be regular in point of hours."⁶¹ Married women were "ineligible" in this department, so that they were "not distracted by maternal duties", and upon marriage were exchanged for single women.⁶²

It is likely that around the handloom weaving sector opportunities existed for women to be involved on a more casual basis, such as supplying the weavers with materials, or weaving on a part time basis. In the 1840s around Crieff it was noted that

"each handloom weaver...kept two women employed in assisting him."⁶³

Indeed, the proportion of journeymen in the workforce was lower in rural areas, where the domestic form of production was retained.⁶⁴

In the craft and retailing sector there is also reason to believe that the census failed to enumerate

⁶¹ P.P., XX, 1833. *First Report on Employment of Children in Factories. Examinations A1.* p. 62.

⁶² P.P., XXI, 1833. *Second Report on Employment of Children in Factories. Medical Reports A3.* p. 36.

⁶³ P.P., XXII, 1844. *Poor Law Enquiry (Scotland). Appendix, Part III, containing minutes of evidence.* p. 193.

⁶⁴ Murray, *op cit*, p. 29.

consistently or completely the involvement of family members in production. It has been suggested that this was especially true of the productive work of female relatives. One source which can be used to investigate this topic is the sequestration processes. As outlined in the evaluation of this source (Appendix I) the use of sequestration material to analyse the ownership of property and business interests by women is considered not to be feasible. However, there seems little reason to consider that bankrupts' statements regarding the involvement of family members in productive work would have been falsified. Some family members did attempt to rank themselves as creditors in terms of wages due to them. For example, the youngest brother of George MacFarlane, a clothier and auctioneer, claimed in 1862 "I was promised but did not get 12/- a week."⁶⁵

Though such claims may have been open to attempted falsification in an effort to keep some of the sequestered estate within the family, it would also have brought the matter under the powerful scrutiny of the Trustee and the other creditors, thereby ensuring its careful examination. Unfortunately, the sequestrations generally only supply information regarding the role of women through the statements of men, and with regard to the running of the business, which probably restricts the nature of the information revealed. How, for

⁶⁵ S.R.O., CS319/590.

example, did women co-ordinate their role in the business with their role in the household? Nevertheless, the sequestration processes can be used to provide a qualitative account of the involvement of family members in craft production, with the usual constraint as to the type of firms this material applies to.

Women were to be found in full time positions in charge of craft businesses.⁶⁶ A typical means of entry to the trades was the continuation of the husbands' business by the widow after his death. Marie Stewart continued to run her husband's saddlery business after his death

"I just took up my husband's business in order to support myself and my children by him who were six in number...I kept books myself as I was able...I had always to struggle to keep my family, and my foreman and apprentices."⁶⁷

Margaret Robertson of Dunkeld and the widow of Duncan Sinclair of Comrie both took over the running of their spouses' hotel businesses.⁶⁸ Mary McLeish set up her own milliner's business in Blairgowrie in 1861 when her husband died, while Euphemia Gall had her own business in the same line in Bridgend.⁶⁹

Aside from these full time workers it was not

⁶⁶ In addition to the examples below this is obvious from the entries in trade directories.

⁶⁷ S.R.O., CS319/524.

⁶⁸ S.R.O., CS318/40/311; CS318/6/320.

⁶⁹ S.R.O., CS318/16/261; CS318/17/138; also Mrs. Mc-William of Crieff, CS318/8/276.

uncommon to find the wife of the family, and sometimes the mother, playing a large part in the management of the business. As James Douglas, a Dunkeld shoemaker, stated in 1861

"I did manage the business myself but it was managed by my wife, foreman and me."

His wife Susan Connacher noted that she "took some charge of my husband's business."⁷⁰ David Morrison's wife managed the business side of his innkeeping concern.⁷¹

Examples of the employment of family members can be found across a range of trades. The examples highlight the nature of the involvement of female family members in production. This work was typically performed within the context of their place in the family. Such work was irregular and part-time. This feature coincides with the seemingly close association of workplace and home. As David Jack, a baker and grocer in Blairgowrie stated in 1888

"I live in a house which belongs to myself, and which is two flats above my shop."⁷²

Official sources which would allow a systematic assessment of this feature are not available until the 1901 census. Occupational tables then presented a column

⁷⁰ S.R.O., CS318/9/83; other examples are CS318/4/56, CS318/1/72, CS318/16/231, CS318/47/66, CS318/47/67.

⁷¹ S.R.O., CS318/16/231.

⁷² S.R.O., CS318/34/174.

showing the number of people "Working at home." There are problems with the meaning, validity and use of these data (see Chapter Two, Section 2.3.2). However, it is sufficient to list those occupations where males were recorded as 'Working at home' (see Figure 6.17) to see that in the rural areas, even by 1901, 'working at home' was concentrated into the more traditional trades, and absent from manufacturing industries which were carried out on a larger scale. 6/

In the examples given below, female family members performed duties because they were remaining in the home/workplace while the husband/tradesman was absent on business. This suggests that such work was structured by the constraints of tasks such as housework or child-rearing. However, the role of the wife or daughter as someone who could always be contacted at the home or workplace was important for the business, and servants may have been employed to relieve family members of household duties for this purpose. It was also often unwaged work or only poorly paid - work was done within the context of a commitment to a family enterprise. The type of tasks performed were typically managerial or financial in nature, and did not involve women working directly as skilled craftswomen. These features can be seen in the following examples, which demonstrate the occurrence of such work across a variety of sectors.

Figure 6.17

Occupations of and number of males enumerated as
'Working at home' in Lowland Perthshire, 1901¹

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number</u>
Blacksmith/striker	68
Boot, Shoe Makers	85
Cabinet Makers	7
Carpenters, Joiners	78
Coach, Carriage Makers	2
Flax, Linen, Manufacture	1
Hosiery Manufacture	1
Laundry and washing service	1
Millwright	3
Others in construction of vehicles	1
Other workers in wood	1
Saddlers; Harness, Whip-makers	11
Sawyers	4
Tailors	46
Umbrella, Parasol, Stick Makers	1
Undefined Engine/Machine Maker	6
Watchmakers/clockmakers	6
Weavers	6
Wigmakers/hairdressers	1
Wire drawers	1

Source: P.P., CVIII, 1904, pp. 120-25, 444-49.

¹Excludes Perth City.

Alfred Dubber was a Dunkeld hotelier who was married with eight children, and noted of his business in 1900

"The hotel was managed by myself and my wife. My eldest daughter was barmaid and my eldest boy as billiard marker, and during the season my father in law George Barrie drove the bus and did other things...I could not say that I was giving any of my family wages but I was giving them pocket money and keeping them too...Practically speaking I was giving them no wages. I gave them a shilling now and then."⁷³

Dubber did not seem to have been employing any full time staff, but his business liabilities totalled £1292. John McRostie took over his mother's hotel business in Crieff in 1853, as well as trading as a spirit dealer, cattle dealer and flesher, with liabilities of £3010.1.9. He had six brothers and two sisters but stated

"I was in partnership with nobody in my own business - my brothers and sisters had no share of the business. They gave their services living together as one family. They got their meat and their clothes and I made no more for myself."⁷⁴

John Campbell's wife "took charge of the [fleshing] shop" when he was absent taking cattle to Glasgow from Auchterarder. Campbell's business liabilities came to £690, and he employed one domestic servant, possibly specifically to help take care of his four children while his wife minded the shop.⁷⁵ In the baking trade, which Thomas Graham combined with some grocery retail-

⁷³ S.R.O., CS318/45/88.

⁷⁴ S.R.O., CS318/1/75.

⁷⁵ S.R.O., CS318/4/56.

ing in Doune in mid-century, a similar pattern was present, at least in some firms. Graham is worth quoting at length to gain an understanding of how his wife, and especially his daughter, played an important role in the business, particularly when he was absent, even though he employed full time workmen:

"My business was managed by myself and my family...My daughter occasionally got liberty to get money from the Royal Bank...She got the money from the bank during my absence upon cheques that were signed by me on my return home...My daughter kept my books...My daughter got no wages or salary for attending to my business, all she got were her meat and clothes along with the other members of my family...I was often out during the day, three days in the week and sometimes oftener with the cart and at other times I was attending to some ground I leased, and at the bakehouse. I left the selling of goods and the keeping of my books partly to my wife but chiefly to my daughter. My daughter was in the way of settling with the merchants and giving them orders for goods...My creditors never complained of my daughter not being a proper person for giving orders."⁷⁶

In this case the business liabilities were also fairly substantial, comprising £740. In the clothing trade an example is found in the case of Hugh McMahan, a Blairgowrie clothier, who stated in 1867 that

"I sometimes kept the money and sometimes my wife did...I kept nobody to manage the business except myself, my wife and a boy."⁷⁷

His wife was so employed despite McMahan usually employing five or six workmen, with one as a foreman, in addition to which he stated he "knew the business

⁷⁶ S.R.O., CS318/11/97.

⁷⁷ S.R.O., CS318/1/72.

practically myself." Liabilities in this instance totalled £1720.17.6. In George MacFarlane's clothier's business his younger brother kept the shop and the books, while his father did piecework for him in the back shop. According to the statement of MacFarlane's brother

"if we were both absent customers were told to come back by any of my brothers or sisters who were at hand, or by my father who worked in the back shop. My father sometimes sold goods."⁷⁸

Susan Connacher, wife of shoemaker James Douglas, "frequently drew money for shoes and for work done." Douglas employed a foreman and seven or eight workmen, and the liabilities of his business totalled £812.⁷⁹ The cousin of William Keay, bootmaker, paid wages and cut out the workmen's work in his shop.⁸⁰

The information regarding the workforce of these firms, and the financial level that they were run on (using the value of liabilities as an indicator), points to the use of family labour even in what were fairly substantial concerns for this area, and where non-family labour was also employed. This is an important point, because it suggests that it was not only the very marginal concerns which were employing the labour of their own families. In addition to involvement in the family business, family members contributed in

⁷⁸ S.R.O., CS319/590.

⁷⁹ S.R.O., CS318/9/83.

⁸⁰ S.R.O., CS318/11/145.

other ways to the family income, such as taking in lodgers (see Section 6.7). Other work outside of the craft sector was performed, though unfortunately the women concerned remain nameless. The wife of James McLeish, a shoemaker in Bankfoot,

"was earning a good wage, fifteen or sixteen shillings a week...My wife has been working all the time."⁸¹

Boatbuilder Andrew Haggart's wife made dresses and cultivated garden produce.⁸² Hotelier Robert Lawrence's wife worked as a nurse.⁸³

Thus it is possible to show that women were much more involved in productive work than official sources such as the census reveal. In addition, it is significant that in the agricultural sector and the craft sector, the use of other sources shows that family members often helped in the family business, in a type of work related to the head of the household. The type of work performed in both these sectors had similarities in that it was irregular or seasonal, poorly paid or unpaid, and was subject to male control or censorship based on gendered status considerations, whether from aspiring middle class farmers or respectable tradesmen. These factors explain the poor enumeration of such work in the census. As it was irregular it was not recorded. As it was perceived in a gendered

⁸¹ S.R.O., CS318/9/83.

⁸² S.R.O., CS318/45/125.

⁸³ S.R.O., CS318/51/171.

fashion, it was not seen as worth recording in the equally gendered census (see Chapter Two, Section 2.3.2).

This qualitative analysis thus has two main conclusions. Firstly, it shows that in sectors such as agriculture, small scale craft production or retailing the official sources fail to reveal the complete picture of the involvement of women in productive work. In fact, the families in such sectors often showed a concentration of the work of family members on a family based enterprise. By examining the role of the family in production a broader understanding of how productive work was carried out is achieved. In addition, more information is gained regarding the productive work of individual family workers. Secondly, it reveals how the nature of women's work and its perception by male heads of household, and also of male census staff, operated jointly to influence the enumeration of women's role in production.

6.7 LODGING

In addition to investigating the frequency of non-family employees residing within the craft household (see Section 6.6) one other resident non-related group was studied for all family types, namely lodgers. Domestic servants are considered separately in Chapter Seven (Section 7.4) since their relationship to the family in both economic and social terms might tend to

be different from that of lodgers. There were a total of two hundred and forty seven lodgers in the sample, equivalent to four percent of the population. Thus they were not a numerous group, but this feature suggests that any concentrations of lodgers within households where the head was of a certain occupation were likely to be more interesting. Figure 6.18 shows the percentage of households where the head was following a particular occupation which contained lodgers in 1861.

The calculations omitted apprentices or journeymen who were resident with their employer, and those classed as lodgers in commercial lodging houses or inns. The fact that the census does present a snapshot of the characteristics of lodging on one particular night may affect the validity of the results slightly. Individuals who were carters, travelling salespeople or itinerants may have lodged in certain households regularly for years, but were not recorded in the census because they were elsewhere at the time. Similarly, but on a different time scale, patterns of lodging may have been different during the harvest season. However, the data presented here are likely to represent the majority of the 'stable' population of lodgers.

The study of the patterns of the taking in of lodgers attempts to assess two different features. Firstly, it is some measure of the economic circumstances of households where the head follows a particular

Figure 6.18

Percentage of households with lodgers, 1861

<u>Head of household</u>	<u>% with lodgers</u>	<u>n</u>
Professional	11	46
Labourer	11	104
Agricultural labourer	7	175
Tradesman	5	183
Merchant/retailer	4	48
Farmer	3	51
Farm servant	3	126
Handloom weaver	2	122
Factory textiles	2	68

Source: S.R.O., Census enumerators' books sample.

occupation. Those households where the income of the head was low would perhaps have been more likely to take in lodgers. This relationship would have been qualified by such considerations as size of house and the status implications of having lodgers within the household. This latter point is related to the second reason for examining lodging, that of the sociological effect of non-family members living with a family, as

"lodgers are...a sociologically significant element in the population, because their relationship to their landlord was more or less a non-familialistic one and thus an alternative (and possibly a threat) to the strength of family and kinship bonds...[though]...single lodgers...were probably treated as one of the family."⁸⁴

As Figure 6.18 shows the incidence of lodging was spread fairly evenly across occupational groups. Farmers and farm servants showed a low incidence of taking in lodgers. To a certain extent this would have reflected a geographical variation, with less people seeking lodgings outside the villages. Both the handloom weavers and the factory textile workers also had few lodgers.

Those groups with a slightly higher incidence of lodgers were in the trades and the commercial sector, but the difference is slight. The percentage for the trades is exaggerated by the fact that many trade households in the village of Meigle were lodging

⁸⁴ Anderson, *op cit*, p. 47.

railway workers in 1861 while the branch line was being constructed. This feature probably reflects a combination of the entrepreneurship of the small businessman, and perhaps a better standard of housing where more room was available to take in lodgers. Certainly the taking in of lodgers was one of the 'respectable' forms of generating income available to the wife of a tradesman. Susan Connacher, the shoemakers' wife, stated that

"in the former house I was in I sometimes lodged from one to three men at a time."⁸⁵

The wife of Andrew Haggart, joiner and boat builder, also kept lodgers at their house in Abernethy.⁸⁶

The taking in of lodgers does not seem to have reflected the family size of the occupational groups in any obvious way. Larger families may have been less likely to take in lodgers because of a lack of space. Conversely, they may for the same reason have had more need of extra income. Comparing the incidence of lodgers by occupational group with the family size (Figure 6.5) suggests that if any consistent pattern emerges at all then there were more lodgers where family size was largest. However, as noted the range of family size was very small, and it does not seem likely that any meaningful relationship is evident here. Similarly family structure seemed to have no effect on

⁸⁵ S.R.O., CS318/9/83.

⁸⁶ S.R.O., CS318/45/125.

the incidence of lodging.

That the taking in of lodgers was more than just a purely economic relationship is reflected in the fact that the highest incidence of lodgers was found in the households of two contrasting groups, the professionals and the labourers. Partly the results may have been due to problems with the definition of lodgers in the taking of the census. However, the composition of the lodgers in these groups is illuminating. The majority of the lodgers staying with professionals were in similar occupations to the head of households. Typical examples included ministers or probationers lodging with ministers. Here contacts were probably more of a professional or friendship nature, rather than economic, with probationers residing with a minister while carrying out a period of training.

By contrast, the households of labourers or agricultural labourers generally contained other labourers as lodgers. Here the taking in of lodgers was perhaps more of an economic necessity, but it was also influenced by variables such as ethnicity. In Methven in 1861, for example, Edward Maury, an Irish born agricultural labourer lived with his wife and young daughter, and had three lodgers - Anthony Malley, Michael Brown and Anthony Warren - all of whom were Irish agricultural

labourers.⁸⁷ In addition, a certain amount of sectarianism may have been an important factor, with the Presbyterian ministers and probationers residing together, and the Catholic Irish lodging together.

There was, it appeared, a class and perhaps an ethnic and religious basis to who was an acceptable lodger. This relates back to the issue of the relationship between landlord and lodger being non-familialistic. Where possible the choice of lodger would have been decided by the wish of the family to lodge someone who was as similar in social terms as they were, so that familial relationships were least threatened.

6.8 CONCLUSION

The intention of this chapter has been to examine how the organisation of the family, and the strategies of the individuals making up the family, varied according to the economic sector to which the family belonged. The focus of the chapter has been those families where the head was engaged in craft production, but other groups have been examined for comparative purposes. The results of the analyses have implications for the study of small scale production and family form, which are discussed further in this conclusion.

A previous study by another author has suggested that women played a very minor role in craft production in nineteenth century Lowland Scotland. It was consid-

⁸⁷ S.R.O., Census enumerators' books sample.

ered that

"the whole ethos was one of male monopoly...The tradesmen for most of the nineteenth century relied little on female assistance. There are instances that are recalled merely on account of their rarity."⁸⁸

Certainly women were not found in the capacity of skilled craft workers within the 'male' trades, and in this sense craft production maintained a male monopoly. However, women were commonly found pursuing such trades as dressmaking or seamstressing. Importantly, as Section 6.6 has shown, the role of female family members was vital within the craft firms considered here, even in the supposedly 'male' trades. They were found performing managerial tasks, book-keeping, minding the shop and dealing with customers, handling financial matters, and participating in less skilled parts of the production process. Thus the picture of male monopoly in craft production is one that must be qualified, and the importance of the role of family members, particularly women, acknowledged.

Indeed, the language of the tradesmen themselves reveals a close association between family and enterprise, in which the two were regarded as one entity. John McRostie, flesher and cattle dealer in Crieff, stated in 1857 that

⁸⁸ Sprott, G. 1984 "The Country Tradesmen" in Devine (ed.), *op cit*, p. 143.

"my brothers and sisters had no share of the business. They gave their services living together as one family."⁸⁹

David Jack, a baker and grocer in Blairgowrie, considered that "I was bred a grocer",⁹⁰ while William Dick, baker in the same town, stated "I was not bred to the business but my brother was."⁹¹

The structure and composition of the household was influenced by, and at the same time helped to reinforce, gender distinctions. As noted in other contexts,⁹² and as outlined above, labour was divided along sexual lines within artisan families. This varied with the economic position and status of the family. Higher status families would have aspired towards not having their wives or daughters working.⁹³ Though the responsibilities of women were probably primarily domestic, they were also involved in production in a

⁸⁹ S.R.O., CS318/1/75, emphasis added.

⁹⁰ S.R.O., CS318/34/174, emphasis added.

⁹¹ S.R.O., CS318/15/98, emphasis added.

⁹² Morris, J. 1986 "The characteristics of sweating: the late nineteenth century London and Leeds tailoring trade" in John, *op cit*, p. 207.

⁹³ Hall, C. 1982 "The butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker: the shop and the family in the industrial revolution" in Whitelegg, E. (ed.) *The changing experience of women*. Martin Robertson and the Open University, Oxford. p. 24.

range of crafts in a wide variety of settings.⁹⁴ However, the evidence presented above suggests their role in productive work was probably associated with their role in the household. The work performed was irregular and unwaged, and probably fitted in with domestic duties. Work was performed in the context of a continuing close association of home and workplace. Thus women were not removed from the business sphere. Indeed, their involvement within it often involved important managerial roles, but their role in the actual physical work was limited to less skilled tasks. Thus the close association of production and the family in the crafts had an effect on the role of women both in the workplace and the family.

There is still the important question of the interpretation of the importance of family labour in craft production in Lowland Perthshire. Was family labour important in these craft firms because the crafts were economically marginal, as has been shown for the handloom weaving sector? The use of family labour has been shown in other contexts to increase as the economic position of the enterprise or sector

⁹⁴ See, for example, the experience of Lyonese silk weavers in Struminger, *op cit*; New England shoemakers in Blewett, M.H. 1983 "Work, gender and the artisan tradition in New England shoemaking" *Journal of Social History*, 17. pp. 221-49; London tailors in Morris, *op cit*.

deteriorated.⁹⁵ Or did the continuity of occupation by male children, and the involvement of female relatives, reflect the following of a livelihood which was viable, and which had a particular organization of production?

A feature of craft production during this period was the typically small firm size (Chapter Four, Section 4.2). Thus the use of female family labour might be viewed as a response to the lack of full time employees. As was noted above, family members worked even where the firm had a few full-time journeymen, and was fairly substantial for this area (Section 6.6). A similar feature was seen in the handloom weaving sector and, to a lesser extent, on the smaller farms. Thus the use of family members in the craft sector could be taken to reflect the economic circumstances of the trades. The small scale nature of production and marketing, the following of multiple occupations, and the small full time workforce employed were all integrated with the employment of family labour. The fact that these tradespeople sometimes travelled to broaden the scope of their small markets (Chapter Four, Section 4.6), made it even more important that there was someone contactable at the site of the business.

However, the utilisation of family members in this case did not reflect poor economic circumstances within

⁹⁵ Crossick and Haupt, *op cit*, p. 20.

the crafts, with the obvious exception of the handloom weavers. One of the conclusions of Chapter Four (see Section 4.8) was that the rural trades were generally economically viable until at least 1900. Though there was decline in some craft sectors it was not dramatic. Sections 6.2 and 6.5 above suggested that the origins of those entering the craft sector through marriage or training came from a wide variety of other groups, both those of lower and higher status. This suggests that the trades were seen both as an economically viable occupation, even for the sons of farmers and professionals, and also socially acceptable for the daughters of the same groups. The continued emphasis on the training and employment of male children of craft families suggests that these families still saw the establishment of their sons as tradesmen as an important means of continuing the family resources and enterprise. This is in contrast with the pattern of sons leaving home in the handloom weaving families in 1861.

While the focus on the family in craft enterprises grew out of the economic necessities of the small enterprise, there were also important social considerations. It has been suggested that

"there are historical and class patterns...of the size and organization of the household."⁹⁶

⁹⁶Tilly, L.A. and Scott, J.W. 1978 *Women, Work and Family*. Rinehart and Wilson, New York. p. 7.

Throughout this chapter a recurrent observation has been the apparent difference of family characteristics depending on whether the head of the family was self employed or a wage earner. It has been suggested by another authoress that class 'happens' when *families* see themselves as part of a larger group with similar concerns.⁹⁷ From the evidence in this chapter it is possible to point to variations in family structure which were correlated with the occupational structure of families, and hence the social status of those families. It is possible to suggest from this point that the organisation of the family was both influenced by its place in the social structure, and helped to recreate that social structure.

In the families where the head was a wage earner, family types were found where the majority of family members were in full-time waged employment. Children, especially male children, left home at a fairly early age, and nuclear family structures were more common. Examples are to be found in the families of farm servants, labourers and factory textile workers. Families where the head was self-employed were represented by those families with children (especially male children) remaining at home longer and working in a family enterprise. Employment opportunities within the family meant that composite family structures were more com-

⁹⁷ Struminger, *op cit*, p. 212.

mon, and the occupations of all the family members were similar. Examples here include the craft sector, retailing and small scale farming. The upper middle classes (such as large farmers or the professionals) and the upper classes (for example the landowners) were more able to achieve the bourgeois ideal⁹⁸ of non-working female relatives. These are initial findings that are presented here, but they do suggest that by looking at the organization of the family and the household, rather than just focussing on the activities of household heads or particular occupational groups, a greater understanding of social structures might be gained. The family was probably an important element in both the creation and recreation of social divisions.

It is important, however, not to be misled by simply referring to structural features of family groups such as wage earning or self employment. The handloom weavers, for example, were structurally the same as the other crafts in this context, but economically and socially their experience was much different. One should remember the effect of the position of the handloom weavers as outworkers, and that the trade was in economic decline. Socially and economically the weavers were probably worse off than many labouring families, and their different family structures and

⁹⁸ Crossick and Haupt, *op cit*, p. 20.

composition reflected this fact.

It has been suggested that

"individuals...live in families, and the process of class formation confronts this fact powerfully. The interests which are determined by class exploitation, therefore, will vary depending upon how they intersect the class compositions of families...it would be expected that class formation will be facilitated to the extent that families are class homogenous and retarded to the extent that they are heterogenous."⁹⁹

It is important to consider the applicability of this suggestion in the present context. Comparing the handloom weaving sector to the other trades it is obvious that other factors were at work, and in fact could produce opposite effects from groups where family characteristics were similar. The structure and composition of the handloom weaving families reflected the decline of the trade, and the resulting increase in the utilisation of family members. If combination and union activity are any measure of class formation then it might be claimed that the handloom weavers suggest a link between family composition and class formation, because they had an active Trade Union, as did the factory textile workers (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.6).

However, the other trades shared similar family characteristics, but combination among the masters was poorly developed (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.6). This reflected a number of features, one of which was that

⁹⁹Wright, E.O. 1987 *Classes*. Verso, London. p. 225.

the family-centered, small business, rather introspective, view of such groups worked against formal combination among master tradesmen. However, it is true that among such groups this introspection did act as a means of separating the petite bourgeoisie from the working class around them.¹⁰⁰ This feature is reflected in the dominance of interaction within the craft sector revealed by the marriage patterns.

As noted above, both the marriage pattern (Section 6.2) and the inter-generational occupational mobility (Section 6.5) analyses suggest that there was a high degree of social cohesion within the trades. However, as noted, they were by no means an exclusive group in terms of these interactions. In particular, their marriage partners and members of their workforce could originate in lower and higher status groups. The position of the trades in society relative to these groups is the subject of the following chapter.

¹⁰⁰ Crossick, G. "The petite bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Britain: the urban and liberal case" in Crossick and Haupt, *op cit*, p. 79.

Chapter Seven

The social milieu of the rural trades in nineteenth century Lowland Perthshire

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to examine certain aspects of the social experience of the rural tradespeople of Lowland Perthshire in the nineteenth century. Its aim is to locate the position of those engaged in craft production in the overall social structure.

Section 7.2 establishes the basis of this enquiry by outlining the numerical importance of the trades and other comparative groups in the local social structure. Contemporary descriptions of the stratification of society are introduced, and an attempt is made to understand how these nineteenth century observers divided society, and where they located the trades in their schema.

Geographical mobility is investigated in Section 7.3. This section attempts to establish which groups were the most geographically stable in rural society. In addition, an investigation is carried out as to how far the nature of certain occupations determined the mobility characteristics of individuals, taking demographic factors into account. The relative lack of geographical mobility of those engaged in the trades is particularly compared to that of farm servants, and the effects of this considered.

Servant holding as a means of stratifying the population along status lines is investigated in Section 7.4. However, this analysis also takes into account a modified view of patterns of servant holding as influenced by the requirements of producers, and not just as pure expressions of status.

Section 7.5 outlines the social relations between different groups in society which revolved around the economic linkages of the credit system. The supply of credit from tradespeople to customers often disadvantaged the working classes, and this feeling crystallised in various labour protests throughout the century. From the other direction, the vulnerability of the undercapitalised tradesmen and tradeswomen to bad debts was focused by the Wages Arrestment Act of 1870, which prompted the formation of trade protection associations specifically concerned with the Act.

These considerations lead to a discussion of formal organisation among tradespeople in the nineteenth century (Section 7.6). The role and composition of trade specific Friendly Societies as foci of craft consciousness is examined. Expressions of craft consciousness through ceremony are also examined. The increasing polarisation of journeymen and masters is outlined, with journeymen eventually becoming part of national unions to protect their interests. By contrast it is shown that the small master response was less

organised, and that organisations remained local.

An assessment is made of the tradespeople and other groups in local politics, for example in the county council, in Section 7.7. This is important as a measure of how far tradespeople and other petit bourgeois groups saw themselves as a class of small property owners. A comparison with Edinburgh is possible. Mention is also made of the role of tradesmen and tradeswomen as providing an informal focus in the community through their work patterns and workshops.

The conclusion has two main elements. Firstly it attempts to locate the tradespeople in the social structure. Secondly it explains the lack of small master organisation, particularly against the larger bourgeoisie.

7.2 TRADESPEOPLE IN THE LOCAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

As a basis for the study of the importance of the tradespeople in rural society, it is necessary to have an understanding of their numerical importance, relative to that of other groups. This gives a context to the importance of the trades on local councils or in forming associations. For example, the occurrence of tradespeople in significant proportions on the burgh police commissions or the parochial board is more important if they were a numerically small element of society.

Figure 7.1 shows the numerical importance of the

various occupational groups expressed as a percentage of the total occupied population in the sample for 1861. Handloom weavers and those involved in the trades were the most numerous groups within the occupied population, though farm and domestic servants and agricultural labourers were only slightly less so. Unfortunately it was not possible to separate status distinctions in the trades consistently i.e. whether individuals were masters or journeymen. Professionals, farmers and those in the commercial sector were much less important in numerical terms.

Figure 7.2 shows the percentage importance of various occupational groups for Perthshire (excluding Perth City) for 1891 as far as they could be extracted from the printed census tables. In terms of the total occupied population the larger groups were the farm servants and agricultural labourers, textile workers and the operative craftsmen/women. However, as far as can be ascertained, those craftsmen who were employers or working on their own account were less significant in terms of numbers. Farmers formed roughly an equivalent sized group in society, while professionals were one of the smallest.

How did contemporary observers see these groups stratified within society? The reminiscences of James Inglis, a merchant who later pursued a political career in Australia, serve to give some indication of the

Figure 7.1

Occupational groups as a percentage of the total
occupied sample population, Lowland Perthshire, 1861

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>% of occupied population</u>
Handloom weavers	18
Tradesmen	16
Farm servants	13
Domestic service	11
Agricultural labourers	10
Factory textiles	9
Labourer	7
Farmers	5
Professional	3
Retailers	2
Merchants	1

n=1731

Source: Census enumerators' books sample.

Figure 7.2

Occupational groups as a percentage of the total
occupied population, Lowland Perthshire, 1891

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>% of occupied population</u>
Tradespeople - all	13
- operatives	9
- employers and 'own account'	4
Farm servants/agricultural labourers	12
Textile workers	10
Farmers	5
Professionals	4
- schoolmasters	1
n=51430	

Source: P.P., 1893, CVIII. pp. 88-94, 466-71, 582-5, 793-6.

different layers of society in Forfarshire in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the villages of the county

"besides the usual assortment of ordinary handicraftsmen - that is, wrichts, stonemasons, quarrymen, blacksmiths, shoemakers, saddlers, etc. - there was a considerable settled population in the village, consisting of families more or less connected with agricultural pursuits...In addition there were...handloom weavers...These various grades might be said to constitute the substantial groundwork of village society, and next above them came the traders or shopkeepers. These invariably rejoiced in the high - sounding appellation of 'merchants.' No matter if a man only sold boots and peeries...he was still a merchant, or possibly the village folk would call him a 'merchantie' in contradistinction to his more wealthy confrere, who boasted a large stock of drapery and grocery."¹

The more 'respectable' and 'genteel' elements of society were, from Inglis' point of view, to be found in the county and market towns of the district, where

"as in all the other country towns, there were various grades of society: the county families, the merchant (skippers), the more genteel tradespeople, the little professional coteries, lawyers, doctors, etc., the respectable tradesfolk, and so on."²

It is important to attempt to gain an understanding of what these divisions meant to contemporary observers. How did they divide society into different groups? The mechanism and the criteria used are revealed by an early nineteenth century inquiry. The Royal Commission on Religious Instruction (Scotland) of 1835

¹Inglis, J. 1894 *Our Ain Folk. Being Memories of Manse Life in the Mearns*. David Douglas, Edinburgh. p. 131-2.

²Inglis, *op cit*, p. 154.

distributed a questionnaire to the ministers of the Church of Scotland, and to those of other denominations. Their replies, along with minute books of evidence of meetings with presbyterian and other congregations, give information on a range of topics, though the main thrust of the inquiry was to

"inquire into the opportunities of public religious worship, and means of religious instruction, and pastoral superintendence afforded to the people of Scotland."³

Thus this inquiry was not undertaken with the purpose of discerning local social structures. However, it is obvious that one question in particular caused some ambiguity in the replies, and this led to questions being asked regarding it at subsequent inquiries with ministers and their congregations. The question asked the responding minister to state what proportion of their congregations were of the

"poor and working classes, under which last term are comprehended all agricultural labourers, operatives, and handicraftsmen, and others of like condition?"⁴

For those conducting the inquiry, the question of how the responding ministers defined 'working class' obviously became one of concern, and questions raised at the inquiries led to statements of how the ministers actually saw the division of society. Such a viewpoint

³ S.R.O., West Register House, *Royal Commission on Religious Instruction (Scotland) 1835*. HH37.

⁴ S.R.O., HH37.

is, of course, from the position of one particular group in society. In addition, it is worth considering how complete or accurate a statement was given to the inquiry. Perhaps there were other factors, such as status, which they did not want to voice. Despite these limitations the source does give an interesting insight into how contemporaries regarded the divisions in society.

was/ A variety of approaches to answering the question was adopted. The Rev. John Black of Dunkeld defined the working class by using the definition inherent in the question.⁵ Mr. John Hall, an elder of the parish of Dunkeld, used the criteria of wages to distinguish the working class:

"Q. On what principle do you distinguish the poor and working classes?

A. By the rate of wages. Few earn more than 12/- a week."⁶

However, most respondents based their division on the basis of differences in the use of capital and labour. The minister of Dunnichen (in Forfarshire) based his division on the fact that

"there are about 30 people, farmers who employ servants or live upon their capital...All the rest are crofters, operative weavers or other tradesmen, day labourers or domestic servants."⁷

Performing labour, as opposed to living off capital,

⁵ S.R.O., HH37/97/1.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ S.R.O., HH37/25.

was often cited as a way of distinguishing between classes. The Rev. Drummond of Kirkmichael included as working class

"all operatives and persons labouring their land with their own hands."⁸

This division was true also regarding farmers. Of Killin it was stated

"the population is composed of farmers and graziers. Many of the possessions are very small, and with a few exceptions the people may be ranked as belonging to the working classes - most of the tenants being in the habit of working with their own hands."⁹

Tradespeople were viewed as being at different levels in society. This probably reflected geographical variation in the social structure, and in the level of craft enterprise. Of Alyth it was stated

"with the exception of a few Master Manufacturers and tradesmen and of the better class of shopkeepers in the town, a few resident proprietors and about the usual number of farmers in such a parish as Alyth, they are almost all of the poor and working classes."¹⁰

In Newtyle parish

"with the exception of the farmers and a few others the mass of parishioners depend upon their several trades and employment as working classes."¹¹

Of the congregation of the United Seccessionists of Errol their minister, the Rev. Nicoll, considered that

"there are 4 farmers, 1 gardiner [sic], 1 merchant,

⁸ S.R.O., HH37/97/2.

⁹ S.R.O., HH37/67; also Ardoch HH37/5, Dunkeld HH37/97/1.

¹⁰ S.R.O., HH37/51.

¹¹ S.R.O., HH37/51.

and the rest belong to the working class."¹²

In conclusion tradespeople in the nineteenth century formed a fairly significant group numerically in the villages and market towns both in mid and late century. The numerical significance of masters or employers was of course smaller. In terms of social stratification, contemporary observers seem to have placed them rather ambiguously within society. While journeymen and women, as wage earners performing manual work, were identified with the working classes, it is obvious that masters were more difficult to place. Sometimes they were ranked as working class due to performing labour, at others they were associated with farmers, manufacturers and shopkeepers as distinct from the working classes. This reflects the use of both capital and their own labour by many of these masters, at which point the economic model adopted by the parish ministers begins to lose its analytical value. It is obvious that one farmer later in the nineteenth century was using different criteria to compare or differentiate groups when he stated that

"the character of the farm-servants as a class is high. They will compare favourably with the class of small tradesmen."¹³

¹² S.R.O., HH37/56.

¹³ P.P., 1893-94, XXXVI. *Royal Commission on Labour. The Agricultural Labourer. Report by Mr. G.R. Gillespie on the Arable Districts of Forfarshire and East Perthshire.* p. 155.

In addition, it also reflects the range of the levels of craft enterprise, from one-man firms, perhaps pursued on a part-time basis, to the respectable market town tradesperson with a thriving business. Certainly Inglis seemed to be pointing to a strata of "respectable" and "genteel" tradespeople who were on a level with the professionals and gentry. There was obviously some overlap with the commercial sector, though certainly the larger merchants seem to have been considered of higher status, as did the professionals and the larger manufacturers. In conclusion, limited evidence such as this seems to suggest that the tradespeople for the most part were considered to be found at various levels in society, and were perhaps difficult to place with respect to different groups. Certainly they often seemed to overlap with both the working class and with middle class groups, as the patterns of marriage and labour recruitment showed (Chapter Six, Section 6.8). The rest of the chapter seeks to place such impressions on a firmer footing.

7.3 GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY

In Chapter Four (Section 4.4) specific examples were given of the migration of businessmen involved in small scale production and retailing. This analysis suggested that geographical and occupational mobility were quite closely related. The sample from the census enumerators' books for 1851 and 1861 has been used to

assess gross mobility characteristics for different occupational groups, by analysing birthplace data and calculating population turnover rates.¹⁴ The main object of this analysis was to establish whether there was a significant variation between the mobility characteristics of different occupational groups. It has been suggested that the nature of certain occupations determined to a certain extent the mobility characteristics of those following those occupations (see below). In turn, occupationally specific migration characteristics have been suggested as causal factors regarding the social standing of the migrants or non-migrants.

Examples of such attitudes can be found expressed by various middle class observers in the nineteenth century, though such evidence of course represents only one viewpoint. Within the wider context of the growing philanthropy of the nineteenth century middle classes, contemporaries were concerned with the social effects of the migratory habits upon migrants - moral, religious, and educational, and the resulting standard of living. Irregular availability of work and residence connected with certain occupations, and the associated

¹⁴ I would like to thank the individuals who commented on a paper presented on these topics - "Alternative aspects of nineteenth century Scottish migration" *The VIIth International Conference of Historical Geographers*, Jerusalem, July 1989 (joint paper presented with Mr. D.P. Tidswell).

irregular income, were cited as the cause of poor social standards. Presenting evidence on the West of England in 1841 one respondent to a Parliamentary Enquiry noted that

"the habits of the weaver are as unsettled as his earnings...the brickmaker...obtains good wages in the summer time; the sawyer is a roving and uncertain trade...and the consequence is, their houses are dirty and ill conditioned, their habits are loose and unsettled."¹⁵

In Scotland, the occupational group which was most noted in this respect was farm servants. Farm servants typically moved at term time, resulting in a migration step every six or twelve months. Some farm servants, of course, may have been asked or have chosen to 'bide', and most moves were typically short distance. However, the result of this frequent flitting was "severe discontinuity at the institutional level."¹⁶ Frequent mobility prevented their regular attendance at school and church, and it was considered that it caused an indisciplined and immoral way of life. As noted in 1867 in Scone parish

"the continual flitting of married ploughmen, almost yearly, is a great bar to continued school

¹⁵ P.P., X, 1841. *Report of the Commissioners on the Condition of the Hand Loom Weavers*. p. 22.

¹⁶ Sprott, G. 1984 "The Country Tradesmen" in Devine, T.M. (ed.) *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. p. 144.

attendance and progress."¹⁷

To a certain extent this mobility also formed part of the reason for the late date of a Farm Servants Union.¹⁸ The constant movement of ploughmen led to problems in establishing permanent committees. At a meeting of the ploughmen of the Coupar Angus district on June 10th, 1866

"Mr. John Smith, Balbrogie, and Mr. John Bowie, Camphill were elected members of the committee, in room of two who had removed out of the district."¹⁹

The consequences of mobility for this occupational group have been contrasted with the experience of those involved in the trades in rural areas. The relative stability of the tradesman, it has been suggested,

"allowed him to participate fully in the local masonic lodge, the kirk session, and his children to get the benefit of a continuous education."²⁰

Such comments relate to the rural master tradesmen. The phenomenon of the tramping artisan is well documen-

¹⁷ P.P., 1870, XIII. *Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture (1867). Fourth Report of Commissioners. Appendices.* p. 90.

¹⁸ Robertson, B.W. 1978 "The Scottish Farm Servant and his Union: from Encapsulation to Integration" in MacDougall, I. (ed.) *Essays in Scottish Labour History*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. p. 97.

¹⁹ *Courier*, June 12, 1866.

²⁰ Sprott, *op cit*, p. 144.

ted,²¹ and certainly it would be reasonable to expect differences in migration characteristics between masters and journeymen. Certainly tramping journeymen were to be found in Lowland Perthshire. Newspaper reports reveal their presence, usually in connection with a crime they had committed. In 1846 an

"English tramping tailor, who has for some time been employed here"²²

absconded from Coupar Angus. In Crieff in 1863 it was reported that a journeyman shoemaker had

"called at one of our shoe shops the other day soliciting a job."²³

In Bankfoot in 1870

"a shoemaker on the tramp called on some of the masters soliciting employment and received some charity from one of them."²⁴

The perceived effect of migrants on the social fabric of the community into which they migrate is also worth noting. If we can accept a picture of a rather parochial rural society, then the identification of migrants as strangers and undesirables must have been part of the migration experience. Barriers to incomers could have been formidable, especially if ethnic differences were involved. In-migration associated with the

²¹ For a recent discussion see Southall, H.R. 1988 "Towards a geography of unionization: the spatial organization and distribution of early British trade unions" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, N.S. 13, pp. 466-83.

²² *Courier*, June 18, 1846.

²³ *Courier*, November 24, 1863.

²⁴ *Courier*, April 26, 1870.

expansion of the textile industry in Blairgowrie drew the attention of the local minister, who stated

"the strictness of religious principle has been relaxed; and the general tone of morality greatly lowered. The chief cause of this...is undoubtedly to be found in the great influx into the parish...of immoral and dissolute characters of both sexes, who obtain employment in the numerous spinning mills in the neighbourhood; and it is not difficult to foresee that the contagious effect of this moral pestilence must inevitably be felt throughout the community."²⁵

Similarly, in 1843 the falling provision of charity for the poor of Cargill parish was directly attributed to in-migrants

"more than twenty years ago a considerable change took place in the parish from the removal of cottars and crofters who were scattered over the parish, and who were encouraged to settle in a village...and strangers, often not persons of very regular habits, came to settle there. This appears to the witness to be one great cause of the increased burden of the poor."²⁶

The important point here is not so much whether such viewpoints were correct, but that they were taken seriously and were held by influential people. In addition, migrants themselves would have had a different perception of their movement. To return to the farm servants, they considered their frequent flitting as a part of the independence of bothy life, and valued

²⁵ N.S.A., Vol. X, p. 933.

²⁶ P.P., XXII, 1844. *Poor Law Inquiry (Scotland). Appendix, Part III, containing Minutes of Evidence.* p. 183.

their "prized mobility."²⁷ The question of relative stability is one that requires empirical investigation, to establish a basis for examining the argument that the nature of certain occupations influenced migration patterns, and in turn opportunities for active involvement in society. The actual effects, if any, of such mobility must be established independently.

The relative geographical mobility or stability was examined empirically by analysing the birthplace data in, and calculating stability rates for, the period 1851-1861 from the census enumerators' books. The birthplace data only provide information regarding one aspect of migration, that of a different location compared to place of birth. This, of course, is limited in that it takes no account of the possible complexity of mobility between the two time periods enumerated. For example, William McEwan, an ironmonger, served his apprenticeship in Crieff, then moved to Glasgow to work for one year, Stirling for eight months, then Glasgow again for five years, before returning to live in Crieff in 1856.²⁸ The 1861 census, however, would note place of birth and place of residence as Crieff. With a large sample size, however, it is likely that an analysis of this kind will provide some indication of

²⁷ Gray, M. 1984 "Farm Workers in North-East Scotland" in Devine, *op cit*, p. 14.

²⁸ S.R.O., CS318/12/269.

gross mobility characteristics of occupational groups, particularly in combination with the stability analysis. In addition, return to one's birthplace is in itself a significant move.

Figure 7.3 shows the results of classifying the total population of the sample taken from the census enumerators' books for 1861 by birthplace, and this establishes the overall context for the analysis of the birthplaces of occupational groups. Figure 7.3 also gives an indication of the distribution of population in Scotland between 1801 and 1861. The distribution of population had to be examined over this time period because individuals could have migrated into the sample sites at any time during this period. A measure of population distribution was calculated by averaging the population in each of the areas of origin over the seven censuses, and expressing the values derived as a percentage of the average population of Scotland over the same period.

As Figure 7.3 shows, over fifty percent of the population in 1861 was still resident in the parish where they were born, and nearly one-third of the population was born within Lowland Perthshire. In most of the latter cases the parish of origin was immediately adjacent to the sampled parish. Other areas of origin were less important compared to the distribution of population. The Highlands and Islands were the

Figure 7.3

% of population by birthplace

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>% of Scotland's population 1801-1861</u>
Within parish	54	
Lowland Perthshire	27	6
Highlands and Islands	5	12
South Scotland	1	10
Central Scotland	5	54
N.E. Lowlands	5	18
England and Wales	1	
Ireland	2	
Overseas	1	.

n=3717

Source: Census enumerators' books sample; P.P., L, 1862.
Census. p. xl.

most important, with an incidence nearly half as large as would have been randomly predicted. The other origins were very poorly represented relative to their population size. Few origins were found in the categories of England and Wales, Ireland and overseas.

Figure 7.4 shows the results of analysing the birthplaces of specific occupational groups. Comparison with the derived values of population distribution is not relevant in the case of the occupational groups because each occupation would have had its own distribution pattern. Therefore, this section focuses mainly on comparisons between groups. In every case the results mirror the feature of the overall population in that the most common origin was within the sampled parish, followed by elsewhere in Lowland Perthshire. However, when contrasting the groups differences are found. Those groups which had a greater percentage of members born within the parish where they were resident (compared to the total population) were farmers, handloom weavers and retailers, with the handloom weavers in particular having a high percentage. The professionals and domestic servants were the two groups with the lowest percentages in this category. The category of those born elsewhere in Lowland Perthshire was most significant for textile workers, and this origin was also important among farm servants, labourers, domestic servants and those involved in the crafts.

Figure 7.4

% of occupational groups by birthplace, 1861

	F a r m e r s	F a r m e r s v	H L W	L a b o r e r s	T e x t i l e r s	D o m e s t i c s	R e t a i l e r s	P e r s o n a l s	C r a f t s
Within parish	59	38	77	36	45	31	65	29	43
Lowland Perthshire	27	36	16	34	43	31	24	24	33
Highlands and Islands	6	10	3	8	3	11	2	10	5
South Scotland	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	6	1
Central Scotland	4	10	0	6	4	11	2	17	3
N.E. Lowlands	1	2	3	5	1	10	5	4	12
England and Wales	2	1	0	1	1	1	2	5	2
Ireland	0	2	0	12	1	1	0	5	1
Overseas	1	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	0
N=	85	220	319	290	110	180	47	51	270

Source: Census enumerators' books sample.

The origins of the textile workers of the village of Almondbank, from which enumeration district the sample was drawn, were typically in the surrounding parishes, reflecting the movement of labour displaced by agricultural improvement to the textile factories. This process was also to be seen in the short distance movement to the cotton mills at Stanley in Auchtergaven parish. Population increase in the parish in the period 1821-31 was attributed to "the influx of labourers to the cotton mills of Stanley",²⁹ and families were still migrating from Kinclaven parish up to 1843 to

"the thriving village of Stanley, with the view of finding employment for their children at the extensive cotton factory established there."³⁰

The second highest percentage in this category was for the farm servants, confirming a view that though migration was frequent for this group, most movement was short distance.

Percentages in the other categories were low, in all cases representing less than twelve percent of the origins of any one group. A fair percentage of farm servants had their origins in the Highlands but not in the north-east or central Scotland. Labourers had a total of nineteen percent of their origins elsewhere in Scotland, predominantly from the Highland region. Over one-third of domestic servants and well over one-third

²⁹ P.P., LXXXVI, 1852-53. Census. p. 55.

³⁰ N.S.A., Vol. X, p. 1032.

of professionals were born elsewhere in Scotland. For the crafts group, a percentage more in relation to what might have been expected from the distribution of population were born in the north-east.

Of the six percent of textile workers who had their origins in central Scotland, a notable feature was that many had migrated from areas where the textile industry was well established, particularly in Lanark. Migration from Highland parishes to the textile sites such as Crieff, Blairgowrie and Rattray also took place. In the case of Stanley mills it was noted that during the 1830s "many native Highlanders have moved to the parish" for factory work.³¹

The remaining categories - England and Wales, Ireland and overseas - were relatively unimportant as origins for the most part. However, a high percentage of labourers were of Irish birth, and the professional group were again noticeable having ten percent of their origins in England, Ireland or Wales.

Thus in terms of one movement since birth the most mobile groups were the professionals, domestic servants, labourers and farm servants. Farmers, handloom weavers, textile workers and retailers were relatively stable groups by this measure, while craft workers were

³¹ N.S.A., Vol. X, p. 436; also P.P., 1834, X. *Select Committee on the Handloom Weavers*. p. 227; O.S.A., Vol. XII, p. 124.

close to the average percentage. There was little difference in mobility revealed by this analysis between farm servants and those in the trades in terms of movement since birth, with both groups' origins being predominantly within Lowland Perthshire (seventy six percent and seventy four percent respectively). The migration of tradespeople to newly established villages in Strathmore in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was typified by its short distance.³²

Another approach to obtaining a measure of geographical mobility is to attempt to link individuals between census years. This method can be used to calculate population turnover rates or, as used here, to assess what percentage of the population was stable over the ten year period. This type of analysis involves certain assumptions about the data.³³ Records were linked on the basis of individuals having the same first name, second name, birthplace and an age increase of between five and fifteen years between the two censuses. This age range was used because there is evidence that people in the period before compulsory registration of birth had difficulty in knowing their

³² Lockhart, D.G. 1986 "Migration to planned villages in Scotland between 1725 and 1850" *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 102, p. 172.

³³ The method and its problems are discussed in Campbell, A.J. 1979 *The Lanarkshire Miners*. John Donald Publishers Ltd, Edinburgh. pp. 305-77.

exact age.³⁴ Other factors used to link individuals in uncertain cases were same spouse, same address and same occupation. Same occupation was used as a criterion when investigating geographical stability on an occupational basis. Errors could have occurred due to linking individuals between census years who were not the same, or failing to link the same individuals. However, such errors would be random, and given the criteria that had to be satisfied it is likely that errors of the first type were rare. Errors of the second type were more likely to occur, thus the percentages presented can be taken as slightly underestimating the size of the stable population.

Figure 7.5 shows the results of this analysis. In all cases only a fairly small percentage of the population or occupational group can be linked between censuses. The persistence rates for the occupational groups are lower than for the total population. However, the figures are not unrealistic by comparison with other studies. A study of mining villages in Lanarkshire, for example, found persistence rates among miners of less than four percent.³⁵ Such results suggest a picture of a highly mobile population, and this is further seen in the persistence values for occupational groups.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

Figure 7.5

% of 1851 occupational group present in 1861

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>
Total population	31	3540
Professionals	22	50
Crafts	21	282
Handloom weavers	20	315
Farmers	20	87
Factory textiles	19	149
Merchants/retailers	17	50
Labourers	12	121
Agricultural labourers	10	174
Farm servants	7	230

Source: Census enumerators' books sample.

It is possible to draw a distinction between the self employed and those in waged labour in terms of their mobility characteristics. The higher persistence values (seventeen percent and above) are all associated with the self employed, though handloom weavers were in a slightly different situation due to the outworking system, and it is not possible to distinguish masters and journeymen in the craft sector. The one exception is that of factory textiles (nineteen percent). By contrast, the low persistence rates were associated with occupations such as labouring and farm service.

Migration patterns were of course influenced by a variety of factors of which occupational characteristics were only one. Personal circumstances and motives, economic opportunities and demographic variables were all important variables. In order to investigate any possible demographic effect the age:sex structure of the occupational groups was examined (Appendix V). Figure 7.6 summarises the main points of the birthplace analysis, the persistence rate analysis, and the possible effect of the demographic structure of the occupational groups. In the latter case it has been assumed that young people were more likely to migrate than persons in middle age. In addition, the examination of demographic structure allows identification of groups where death rates may have influenced the persistence rate values to a greater extent.

Figure 7.6

Summary table of mobility characteristics by occupation

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>% persistence</u>	<u>Demographic effect</u>
Farmers	Within parish	high	immobile
Farm servants	Range of origins	low	mobile
Agric. lab.	Range of origins	low	none
H.L. weavers	Within parish	high	none
Textiles	Range of origins	high	mobile
Domestic serv.	33% non Perths.	v. low	mobile
Retailers	Within parish	average	none
Labourers	Range of origins	low	none
Professionals	37% non Perthshire	high	none
Crafts	Within Perthshire	high	none

This table (Figure 7.6) illustrates that though in some cases there are obvious demographic effects, for example in domestic service where the majority employed were young women who would probably leave service upon marriage, there are cases where the effects of demography were less important. For example, retailers, labourers and professionals all show similar demographic characteristics, but have different persistence rates. Even more striking is the case of the factory textile workers who despite having a range of origins and a potentially mobile demographic influence had one of the highest stability rates. There must in such cases have been other influences on the mobility characteristics, and one which may have been important was the effects of the different occupations pursued.

Craftspeople and weavers both showed high persistence rates. The stability of masters would certainly have been related to the fact that their small capital was invested in essentially immobile forms, such as property (housing or workshops). Furthermore, successful business was very much dependent on the establishment and maintenance of commercial and social contacts. As shown in Chapter Five, many of these tradespeople were engaged in complex credit relationships, which would have made the freeing of capital difficult. The persistence rate would probably have registered as higher for masters if they could have been separated in

the census from journeymen, who were probably more mobile. Handloom weavers were also engaged in complex credit and production relationships with manufacturers, which presumably restricted their mobility. As shown by the birthplace analysis handloom weavers were almost exclusively local people, perhaps reflecting the establishing of an outworking system upon a pre-existing domestic industry.

Farmers also had a high persistence rate, and again this probably reflects the tying up of capital in land. It is significant in this context that one of the few notable examples of migration amongst farmers was during the agricultural crisis of the 1830s when farmers, struggling to pay rents set during the inflationary period of the Napoleonic Wars, experienced diminishing capital as they used it to pay rent and it was stated

"a number of respectable farmers have recently emigrated with their capital, and many more are preparing to emigrate."³⁶

Though the factory textile workforce was from a range of origins other than within the parish, and had a demographic structure which could have been associated with a high mobility rate, they did in fact have a high persistence rate, the only group of those in waged employment to do so. Their stability probably reflected

³⁶ P.P., V, 1833. *Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture.* p. 539.

in some measure the social control of the employers, through such processes as tied housing. Certainly long service seemed to have been a feature of this type of employment. The manager of one Forfarshire bleachfield noted in 1857 that most workers were ten to twenty years in service, and a great number for twenty, thirty or even thirty eight years.³⁷ In Manchester in the same year long years of bleachwork service were noted, up to fifty eight years, and also the continuation of family members in the same job, with apprenticed sons following fathers and grandfathers.³⁸ One operative at the Luncarty (Perthshire) bleachworks noted that in the early twentieth century

"five of my family [were] presented by the firm with certificates for 50 years unbroken service, in my time, not counting all the others who gave anything up to 40 and 45 years service and more."³⁹

Other wage earners were typified by low persistence rates, or high mobility characteristics. The mobility rates of the farm servants can be explained with reference to the hiring system, and their demographic structure (typically young, single males) probably also influenced this characteristic. Agricultural

³⁷ P.P., 1857-8, XI. *Report from the Select Committee on Bleaching and Dyeing Works.* p. 178.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4-5.

³⁹ Mr. G. Miller, cited in Cooke, A.J. *A History of Redgorton Parish.* University of Dundee Department of Extra-Mural Education, Dundee. p. 59.

and other labourers had low stability rates, despite having no particular demographic characteristics. This suggests that such occupational groups were perhaps the least stable in society, a feature which could be related to the need to travel to find work, and the day labouring system. The development of the branch railway network was probably an important influence here. The birthplace analysis also suggests that these groups were fairly mobile, but there was a certain amount of discrimination affecting the pattern here, with Irish immigrants and Highland born individuals being concentrated into the labouring sector.⁴⁰

Lastly, the professionals as a group showed a contrasting experience. Nearly forty percent of the professionals had moved into the area from outwith Lowland Perthshire, but once there they seemed to have formed a highly stable group in society. This probably reflects an initial period of training before establishing a business practice, such as a doctor's surgery or *veterinary* round. Ministers were typically incomers to the area. Once there, the need for maintaining business and social contacts would have been important.

Thus those in the occupational groups with the

⁴⁰ The concentration of Highland migrants into factory textiles and labouring has also been noted by Withers, C.W.J. 1988 "Destitution and migration: labour mobility and relief from famine in Highland Scotland, 1836-1850" *Journal of Historical Geography*, 14(2), p. 129.

highest status, as far as can be attributed from their occupational titles, appeared to be for the most part the more geographically stable elements in village society. Professionals and skilled workers were apparently more stable groups. With the exception of the two groups of textile workers, the labouring classes would appear to have been much less stable. Tradespeople were certainly more stable than the farm servants, and indeed it is significant that overall stability rates were higher for the villages (up to forty percent) compared to the agricultural parishes (twenty one percent). Of course, establishing that certain occupational groups were less mobile does not prove that they were necessarily more influential or active in local affairs. However, it does provide a measure of which groups were likely to be a more stable element in society. The actual involvement of certain occupational groups in local social and economic affairs, for the late nineteenth century, is assessed below (see Section 7.7).

7.4 SERVANT HOLDING

One method which has been used to attempt to measure social stratification within a population is the level of servant holding by different social or economic groups. This section examines the distribution of servants with reference to the occupation of the head of household.

Domestic service was an important source of employment in Lowland Perthshire. The 1861 sample taken from the census enumerators' books contained two hundred and forty four domestic servants, which represented sixteen percent of the total employed population. Approximately ten percent of all households had domestic servants, who were typically females in the 10-29 year age group.

The traditional view of patterns of servant holding relates them to status identification. The usual interpretation has been summarised as

"the 'typical' servant is seen as residing with other servants in an upper or middle-class household and as being part of the ritual of conspicuous consumption for the purposes of status identification. Servant employment is seen as part of the 'paraphernalia of gentility' which defined the middle classes."⁴¹

This traditional viewpoint has been modified by recent research which has tended to shift the emphasis away from discussions of status towards an appreciation of the productive work of women in the home. It has been suggested that servants were probably not so much mere status symbols as necessary adjuncts to all the trimmings of the middle class life style. With the likelihood that servants were employed in the homes of

⁴¹ Higgs, E. 1986 "Domestic service and household production" in John, A.V. (ed.) *Unequal opportunities. Women's employment in England, 1800-1918*. Basil Blackford Ltd., Oxford. p. 125.

some social classes to perform productive work, a more balanced view of the role of servant holding is that

"although social status was a major determinant of servant employment it was not the only one. The employment of servants may have reflected a greater demand and ability to pay for labour within the middle-class home rather than any simplistic equation of such employment with the maintenance of status."⁴²

Thus, though servant holding can still be used as a means of social stratification, it is important to see such employment in a wider context.

Problems with this type of analysis also derive from the nature of the census itself. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish individuals purely performing domestic service. In the households of shopkeepers or tradespeople domestic servants may also have been involved in a variety of productive work. In the census returns used here very few shop assistants were enumerated, but in the households where the head was a craftsman/woman domestic servants were distinguished from apprentices and journeymen. These domestic servants may still have performed tasks related to production, however, or may have been employed to allow wives or daughters freedom from household tasks so that they could have a more active role in the firm (see Chapter 6, Section 6.6). The census itself caused ambiguity in the role of 'domestic servants' regarding female agric-

⁴² Higgs, *op cit*, p. 136.

ultural workers due to changing classifications.⁴³ For the census enumerator's returns used here there seemed to be a distinction made between indoor farm servants and domestic servants, but it is not really possible to tell how meaningful this distinction was. In addition it is difficult to define the exact role played by female family members whose occupational title was given as domestic servant. Was this work performed in another household, or within their own, and if the latter case was this paid employment or unpaid work within the household?

Figure 7.7 shows the pattern of servant holding over a range of occupational groups for 1861. The figure shows the percentage of households in each group which employed at least one domestic servant, the average number of servants in each household, and the sample size represents the total number of households examined for each group.

This analysis revealed farmers as being apparently the most likely occupational group to employ at least one domestic servant. It is possible that this figure is inflated by the ambiguous enumeration of farm and domestic servants, but it does suggest that the employment of domestic servants by farmers was high. This was probably also related to the greater range of produc-

⁴³ Devine, T.M. 1984 "Women Workers, 1850-1914" in Devine (ed.), *op cit*, p. 111.

Figure 7.7

Servant holding by occupational group, 1861.

Occupation of household head	% of households with servants	mean number ¹ of servants	households examined
Farmers	51	1.4	51
Professionals	30	2.7	46
Merchants/retailers	16	1.0	48
Tradesman	8	1.1	183
Farm servants	2	1.3	126
Labourers	1	1.0	279
Factory textiles	0	0.0	68
Handloom weavers	0	0.0	122

Source: Census enumerator's books sample.

¹Mean number of servants in those households with at least one servant present.

tive tasks within the household. Within the professional sector, however, it is likely that the high level of domestic servant employment was related more to status reasons. This group showed the second highest level of servant holding in terms of households having servants, and the highest average number of servants per household, despite there probably being less productive work within such households.

The commercial sector forms the next highest group of domestic servant employers. In both cases there was probably a blurring of domestic service with shop work. Those households where the head was working in the trades showed a level of servant holding which was half as large as in the retailing sector. However, the crafts showed a higher level of servant holding than the remaining groups, i.e. farm servants, handloom weavers, labourers and factory textile workers.

Another possible influence upon the incidence of servant holding may have been family size. A family with a large number of children might have had more servants to assist with running the household. As noted above, this might have been particularly true where family members were involved in the family business. Comparing the incidence of servant holding with family size (Chapter Six, Figure 6.5) shows that, with the exception of farmers and factory textile workers, this relationship appears to have held true. However, even

where a large family size was a motive for servant holding, its fulfilment still required a certain level of disposable income.

Three groupings seem to be produced by this analysis. Firstly, there are those households of occupational types where servant holding was very rare, i.e. factory textile workers, farm servants, handloom weavers and labourers. Secondly, there were those groups where servant holding was relatively high, but this could be attributed to economic reasons as well as status considerations. In this group could be placed farmers and those in the commercial sector. The third group contains those occupations where domestic servants can be confidently excluded from any production. This seems most likely to have been true of the professionals, but the clear distinction in the census between domestic servants and skilled workers in craft households suggests that the tradespeople could also be included here. Taking such differences as a measure of status divisions within society suggests that the craftsmen/women were of higher status than labourers, farm servants, factory textile workers and handloom weavers, but showed similarities with the retail sector. Servant holding, and perhaps therefore the demand and ability to pay for this type of labour, seemed to have been highest among the farming and the professional groups.

7.5 SOCIAL RELATIONS AND THE CREDIT SYSTEM

In Chapter Five the economic aspects of the credit system were discussed. However, an important issue which requires examination is the social relationships which revolved around those economic relationships. The granting of credit by tradesmen and tradeswomen to customers, and the vulnerability of the tradesmen in such cases, involved certain aspects which were expressed through the medium of social movements and formations.

Those dependent upon waged labour felt disadvantaged by the credit system. The need for gaining credit for the provision of goods or services operated in such a way as to place them in an unequal, subordinate position to producers or retailers. This situation was compounded by the system of wage payments, which for many occupations was in the form of payments at long intervals. The long time lag between wage payments, up to a year in the case of farm servants and often monthly or half yearly for craft workers, led to a need for credit from shopkeepers or tradespeople. However, engagement in the credit system disadvantaged those receiving the credit, and the tension arising between creditor and debtor crystallised as a part of social movements in the form of labour protests. Ploughmen in particular made the more regular payment of wages an issue in the major industrial actions of 1855, 1866 and

1872 in Lowland Perthshire.⁴⁴ In 1866, at a meeting of the ploughmen of the Coupar Angus district, one speaker stated that the system of paying wages

"put the men to a great disadvantage, especially the married men, as it compelled them to take credit, where they were supplied with the worst goods, and charged the highest price."⁴⁵

In a letter from 'Jock', an anonymous ploughman, during the labour unrest of 1872, it was considered that

"it is scarcely the farmer's duty to consider whether it may be better, in the interests of the ploughman, by paying at stated intervals. Shorter periods of payment will cause less necessity for [the] credit system than at present exists, and the responsibility lies in the individual."⁴⁶

For operatives working in the crafts shorter intervals of payment of wages also became an issue in trade disputes. In 1866 the masons of Coupar Angus achieved their aim when it was reported

"that the various employers have agreed to pay their workmen fortnightly, instead of, as formerly, monthly, which will be a great boon to those having families, enabling such to go to a ready money market."⁴⁷

In 1872 the blacksmiths of Coupar Angus and district petitioned their employers for fortnightly pay instead of the previous half yearly instalments.⁴⁸ It is obvious that these wage earners felt disadvantaged by the credit system, and were placed in a subordinate

⁴⁴ *Courier and Advertiser*, various issues.

⁴⁵ *Courier*, May 15, 1866.

⁴⁶ *Advertiser*, September 19, 1872.

⁴⁷ *Advertiser*, June 21, 1866.

⁴⁸ *Advertiser*, September 19, 1872.

position by it. As noted above, the need for credit did indeed allow the tradesperson or shopkeeper to charge higher prices and sell poor quality goods.

However, the granting of credit to customers could also disadvantage those involved in the trades, in addition to providing them with an economic advantage. As discussed in Chapter Five the granting of credit sometimes acted as a constraint upon production (see Section 5.4). In addition to the economic effects, there was also a set of social relationships revolving around this linkage which to an extent put the tradesmen in a subordinate position. In 1843 it was asked

"Go ask the grocer, the meat-seller, the shoemaker, the tailor, if it is not the fact, that their customers are standing over them?"⁴⁹

A fictional workshop scene, under the title of 'Pay your bills', describes the effects of under-capitalisation and laying out of money as credit to customers, which had important economic effects (see Chapter Five, Section 5.4)

"those who give employment are utterly unconscious of a tenth part of the pain a master tradesman feels, when Saturday arrives - his men anxious for their earnings, he having not one pound in his possession - his boys out in all directions with unpaid accounts to three times the amount of what would set his mind at ease...Alas! they return one by one. 'Mr. A. will call in a few days' says one. 'Mr. B. pays all his accounts at the end of the year' says another. Thus his spirits sink - as the last hour of payment advances - his men stand looking at him, he scarce knowing where to look.

⁴⁹ *Constitutional*, November 1, 1843.

All other endeavours having failed, he goes humbled in spirit to some friend or acquaintance, and...begs the loan of a few pounds - pays his men with borrowed money - rendered a beggar, by the want of that money kept from him by those who need it not, merely from not knowing the misery their lax payment causes."⁵⁰

As noted in Chapter Five (Section 5.4) the loss of money through bad debts, due to a customer defaulting on a payment, was also a major economic problem for these tradespeople. The need to act against possible abuses of the credit system of this type was the basis for collective action amongst the masters of the area. As early as 1843 tradesmen were beginning to try and regularise payment of bills by demanding payment at the Martinmas term.⁵¹ In 1863 a meeting of the master tailors of the Carse of Gowrie noted that

"for some years back the tailors in the Carse have been 'done' by a number of young men leaving the district without settling their accounts. In order to rectify the growing evil, the master tailors...agreed 'That they would no longer supply goods to young men without ready money, or security that the goods would be paid for at the Whitsunday and Martinmas terms.'"⁵²

At a meeting of the Strathmore Master Tailors Mutual Trade Protection Society (founded in 1867) in 1869 the tailors "discussed the names of bad customers",⁵³ and at their next meeting

"it was proposed and agreed to that all accounts be rendered half-yearly - at Whitsunday and Martinmas

⁵⁰ *Advertiser*, February 14, 1856.

⁵¹ *Courier*, November 7, 1843.

⁵² *Courier*, July 14, 1863.

⁵³ *Courier*, January 19, 1869.

- for payment."⁵⁴

The tension caused by this credit relationship between tradesperson and customer surfaced most strongly, and produced the most concerted movement amongst the small producers and retailers, in reaction to the Arrestment of Wages Act of 1870. Arrestment of wages was a feature of Scots law which allowed a creditor to detain goods or effects, including a proportion of the debtors' wages, until the debt was paid off. In some areas the law was used to force payment for goods sold on credit by tradespeople or shopkeepers. Various commentators criticised this practice in the 1840s, but it was not until 1853 that George Anderson, a Glasgow flax spinner, published an influential pamphlet calling for its amendment, and in the same year the government commissioned an investigation by Hill Burton.⁵⁵ Both recommended abolition but the shopkeeping lobby was too strong. In 1868 Anderson stood as a Parliamentary candidate in Glasgow with reform of the law of arrestment as his ticket, and after election pushed the reform in Parliament, succeeding in carrying a new Act in 1870. Under this Act the portion of the debtors' wages which were not liable to

⁵⁴ *Courier*, May 11, 1869.

⁵⁵ P.P., 1854, LXIX. *Report on the Arrestment of Wages, the Effect of Abolishing Imprisonment for Small Debts, and the Practice of Truck in Scotland.*

arrest was extended to 20s. per week.⁵⁶ This had the effect of reducing the coercive power of those involved in the trades.

Anderson had directed his campaign against the club shopkeepers of Glasgow, who "used arrestment as a means of business" - business which did

"not look to that reliance between man and man on which the greater part of the transactions of civilized communities are conducted, but to the coercive power of the law."⁵⁷

Burton considered that such use of the law was less prevalent in rural areas, and noted

"in Perthshire I satisfied myself...that there is generally happy ignorance [of the law]...The chief liability seems to be in Blairgowrie."⁵⁸

As one baker and grocer in Crieff noted in 1862

"I never used law measures to force payment by my customers."⁵⁹

However, the law was still valued by the trading community as a means of protection

"I have stated the feeling in favour of the arrestment of wages as almost universal among the shop-keeping community. It was natural to find this in the west and other districts where the system is actively pursued. I found, however, that the opinion was as distinctly if not so strongly expressed among those who never made use of the writ. Thus the idea that the remedy might be removed, seemed to create alarm even in the Border district, where it is scarcely ever used...the Border shopkeeper only desires to be protected from special acts of

⁵⁶ Marwick, W.H. 1936 *Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland*. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. pp. 151-2.

⁵⁷ P.P., 1854, LXIX, p. 2.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵⁹ S.R.O., CS318/11/97.

knavery, or at the utmost, from a wilful, deliberate extravagance which is far from a habitual feature with his customers."⁶⁰

The Act of 1870 certainly created considerable alarm among the tradespeople and shopkeepers of Lowland Perthshire. In July the Trade Protection Association of Blairgowrie discussed the Act as a subject "of importance and interest to merchants."⁶¹ By December of 1870 it was stated that "every...small community has done something in the matter."⁶² In Methven that year

"a number of tradesmen and merchants of the village met on Wednesday evening to deliberate as to the best means of defending themselves against the effect of the [Act]...the meeting resolved to form themselves into an association for their mutual protection."⁶³

The local inhabitants of Lowland Perthshire seemed to share Burton's view that although not often used in country districts, the existence of the Act was a necessary preventative of abuse of the credit system

"a good deal of inconvenience will be felt that no provision was made in the Bill whereby such an agreement could be abolished altogether...and the wages paid weekly or fortnightly. The Bill carried for the junior member for Glasgow [Anderson] may work most effectively for putting down the 'club shopkeepers' in that city...but it is thought that it should have been seen that no undue advantage was given to the working classes in the country towns and villages."⁶⁴

The Act seems to have formed an important turning point in the operation of the credit system between

⁶⁰ P.P., 1854, LXIX, p. 40.

⁶¹ *Courier*, July 12, 1870.

⁶² *Courier*, December 20, 1870.

⁶³ *Courier*, December 20, 1870.

⁶⁴ *Courier*, December 27, 1870.

tradesperson and customer. At the next meeting of the Strathmore Master Tailors' Mutual Trade Protection Society in 1871 the Act was fully discussed and

"it was unanimously resolved to give no further credit to parties protected by the Act."⁶⁵

In 1872 it was stated of Auchterarder that

"the credit system is greatly reduced since the Wages Arrestment Act came into operation, and that cash will reign supreme by-and-by is only to be expected as one of its natural fruits. Some are still foolish enough to extend a hand to a pinched operative, but when they come to ask their own they are generally laughed at for their pains."⁶⁶

Just as creditors responded to a perception of the creditworthiness of a businessman when deciding whether to grant credit or not (see Section 7.8), a similar process occurred in the decision regarding the granting of credit by a businessman to a customer. Particularly in the more sizeable communities, where the tradespeople were unlikely to know every customer's actual creditworthiness, the decision procedure must have been very much influenced by the attitudes of the tradesperson or shopkeeper. As one baker and grocer in Crieff noted

"I did not know anything particular about my customers, but I took them for fair dealing people."⁶⁷

While the credit relationship relied upon trust, and had certain legal safety nets, how the individual

⁶⁵ *Courier*, January 17, 1871.

⁶⁶ *Advertiser*, April 18, 1872.

⁶⁷ S.R.O., CS318/11/97.

customers were perceived was also important. As an example, during the harvest of 1847 two men called at a baker's shop in Coupar Angus, and

"representing themselves as sent by a gentleman of the neighbourhood to get bread for the reapers, they easily obtained it."

They collected bread almost every day, but

"no suspicion entered the head of the baker, who was otherwise glad to have the gentleman for a customer."

At the end of the harvest season the baker received a pass book for the continuance of family bread, and the fraud was only discovered when he tried to render the account.⁶⁸

In this instance, the perception of the baker, taking the facts presented to him on trust, was that the gentleman was a valued customer who was easily able to pay, and thus credit was readily granted. The supposed harvesters had already decided they would not be perceived as creditworthy, hence their deception.

There is a contradiction here in the implications of the granting of credit. Any member of the upper classes who gained credit from a tradesperson was unlikely to have been placed in a subordinate position because of it. To be refused credit must have brought considerable economic hardship to the working classes, but must also have reinforced status differences bet-

⁶⁸ *Courier*, January 21, 1847.

ween businessman/woman and customer, as would have being placed in a subordinate position within the credit relationship. Thus the operation of credit as an authority relationship was influenced by previously existing structures of status and class, and at the same time reinforced these distinctions.

7.6 FORMAL ORGANISATION IN THE TRADES

As discussed in Section 7.5 above, in response to the threat raised by the Wages Arrestment Act of 1870 masters began to organise themselves into formal organisations for their own protection. These organisations represented an expression of common interests among tradespeople and retailers. This section aims to outline other such developments in the nineteenth century, for both employers and operatives.

Friendly societies have been noted as important expressions of class consciousness, of identification with other individuals in a common interest. The emergence of journeyman societies in the major Scottish cities has been taken as indicative of an emerging working class consciousness.⁶⁹ It has been suggested that for Britain it is possible to accept

"some identification of early unions with trade friendly societies."⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Fraser, W.H. 1988 *Conflict and Class. Scottish Workers, 1700-1838*. Laurence and Wishart, London. 202pp.

⁷⁰ Southall, *op cit*, p. 468.

Certainly it is possible to find evidence of seemingly trade specific friendly societies in Lowland Perthshire, and these form the earliest expressions of formal organisation in the trades of the area. The Athole Wrights Brotherly Society was established at Logierait in 1812

"by the Wrights of that place and its Vicinity, for the mutual support of each other in old age, sickness and infirmity; and for cementing friendship."⁷¹

Similarly, the origins of the Dunkeld Carpenters Friendly Society were to be found in the organisation of the masons and carpenters attracted to the Dunkeld area in the late eighteenth century by improvements ongoing on the Duke of Atholl's estates.⁷²

However, whatever the origins and initial intentions of these societies, it can be shown that their nature was not necessarily exclusive along trade lines. The Dunkeld Carpenter's society held that, provided they were aged between sixteen and forty, and suitably healthy,

"all men of respectable character may be admitted into this Society."⁷³

The Caledonian Gardeners' Friendly Society of Dunkeld admitted "persons of all lawfull employments."⁷⁴ The terms of admission to the Athole Wrights' society

⁷¹ S.R.O., *Registry of Friendly Societies*, FS.1/20/13.

⁷² S.R.O., FS.1/20/8.

⁷³ S.R.O., FS.1/20/8.

⁷⁴ S.R.O., FS.1/20/6.

stipulated that

"this Society shall consist of such Members only, as are of a good moral character, free from maim, bruise, sore, or any mental or bodily infirmity whatever...and of such as are capable of gaining their subsistence, by their labour."⁷⁵

Thus membership of such societies was not necessarily restricted to those following a particular trade. This can be shown by examining the occupational breakdown of the society members. As Figure 7.8 shows, these friendly societies were composed of occupational groups which cut across economic and social divisions. The membership of the Dunkeld Carpenters' followed a total of fifty two different occupations; from clerks, excise officers, accountants and ground officers, to farm servants and labourers, and only thirteen percent of the total were wrights.⁷⁶ Unfortunately it was not possible to break down the occupations into status divisions, such as farm size or masters and journeymen, but it is obvious that a picture of all friendly societies in this areas as foci simply of craft consciousness would be unrealistic. Rather they were catering for many elements in society, and this is reflected in the ceremonial occasions associated with the various crafts.

Certain social occasions still revolved around the Friendly Societies and the various trades. From the

⁷⁵ S.R.O., FS.1/20/13.

⁷⁶ S.R.O., FS.1/20/8.

Figure 7.8

Composition of Friendly Societies

<u>Occupational group</u>	<u>1846-50 Dunkeld Gardeners'</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1846-50 Dunkeld Carpenters'</u>
Professionals	1.7		1.4
Farmers	3.6		18.3
Merchants	5.4		3.0
Retailers	-		1.2
Tradesmen	41.1		40.6
Weavers	39.3		6.4
Farm servants	3.6		1.6
Labourers	5.4		21.7
Other	-		6.0
	n=56		n=503

Source: S.R.O., FS.1/20/6 and FS.1/20/8.

limited evidence available it seems that these events were changing in nature from trade specific events to more social occasions. "Several hundreds" attended the 16th Annual Meeting of the Athole Wrights' Brotherly Society in 1827.⁷⁷ The Dunkeld Carpenters' Friendly Society held annual meetings, and in 1841 it was reported that

"this society is steadily increasing in both wealth and numbers."⁷⁸

At the anniversary meeting of this society in 1850

"the members...held their meeting for the transaction of business in the Masons' Hall. About 4 o'clock afternoon upwards of a hundred and fifty members walked in procession...accompanied by the Bankfoot brass band. The two justly admired flags belonging to the society produced a good effect and appeared to good advantage. In the evening the Carpenters' Annual Ball closed the proceedings and was well attended."⁷⁹

Various ceremonies associated with the different trades were also celebrated. In Errol in 1853

"most of the bakers along with a few of their friends, met in the Allen Arms Inn, for the purpose of keeping up the ancient ceremony of Heads Washing."⁸⁰

The masons of Coupar Angus gathered in 1860 when

"the ancient ceremony of apron washing was performed upon half a dozen sprightly young 'dorbies'...and a goodly number of their fellow workmen, along with a few friends, celebrated the event by supping together in the old masons' hall."⁸¹

⁷⁷ *Courier*, January 18, 1827.

⁷⁸ *Courier*, February 4, 1841.

⁷⁹ *Constitutional*, February 13, 1850.

⁸⁰ *Courier*, March 31, 1853.

⁸¹ *Advertiser*, October 11, 1860.

This ceremony was again celebrated in 1865, when about a dozen apprentices had their aprons washed, and the operatives

"supped together with their wives and sweethearts in the Masons' Hall."⁸²

With the attendance of friends and female companions these occasions were increasingly taking on the appearance of social gatherings rather than exclusive craft rituals, and this change is implicit in the annual supper and ball of the Coupar Angus bakers in 1855

"when they were joined by a number of friends not connected with the baking trade, the entertainment not being of an exclusive nature, but specially got up for the purpose of social and mutual intercourse, and with the view of enabling the bakers, for a few hours, to enjoy the society of a number of their townsmen."⁸³

In the same event in 1865 the guests also included a few of the millers of the district,⁸⁴ and it is likely that such events were being orientated more around a social function, which would probably also have served as an opportunity to further business interests in an informal way.

If this evidence can be taken as outlining a gradual move away from a sense of craft identity, then it corresponds well with the formation of masters' associations which became more prevalent in the second half of the nineteenth century, and were distinct from

⁸² *Courier*, September 26, 1865.

⁸³ *Advertiser*, February 8, 1855.

⁸⁴ *Courier*, September 26, 1865.

the operatives' unions. The focus of co-operative action became less centered on an artisanal ideology, and became polarised as masters and operatives started to combine in a fashion based on their own economic interests as employers and employed. Evidence for such a shift is limited, and little is known about how such features developed earlier in the century. The focus of this investigation is on the post 1850 period, though 1850 is not presented as a starting date for such developments.

The period 1850-1890 saw a series of strikes and disputes by operative tradespeople, farm servants, shopmen and textile workers. It is interesting to note that the issues behind the strikes were wages, hours and conditions, and in one case concerned the employment of non-union men. The issue of the control of the numbers entering the workforce did not seem to have been an issue. From the evidence of local newspapers 1866 and 1872 were the two most notable years in terms of such action.⁸⁵ It is important not to equate strikes and disputes with formal combination, but it is worth examining some of the earlier disputes to ascertain the methods used to negotiate settlements, as far as is possible. Movements among the farm servants and also the factory textile workers were common, but here it is

⁸⁵ *Courier and Advertiser*, various issues.

the disputes between the operatives and employers that are focused upon. Many of the early disputes were settled by meetings of both masters and men. In May of 1856 the journeymen tailors of Crieff demanded an advance of wages of a half penny per hour. In response

"a general meeting of this craft - masters and men - was held ...for the purpose of considering the demand...we are glad to announce that the masters unanimously acceded to the men's request."⁸⁶

Further action by these tailors in 1866 prompted "a meeting of the master and journeymen tailors", with this dispute also amicably settled.⁸⁷ In Blairgowrie in 1866

"the employers and operatives met...in the Commercial Hotel, for the purpose of considering a request of the men to increase the rate of remuneration for their labour...After a conference that occupied several hours, the offer of the employers to increase the rate of wages paid...was accepted."⁸⁸

1866 in general saw a peak in industrial action. At Blackford in April the shoemakers, joiners, weavers, platelayers and tailors were all agitating for an advance in wages.⁸⁹ Crieff and district saw "a movement for an increase in wages among various classes", and it was stated that "all tradesmen seem resolved to have their wages raised."⁹⁰ Agitation was occurring among the tan workers, joiners, spinners, shoemakers and

⁸⁶ *Advertiser*, May 8, 1856.

⁸⁷ *Courier*, April 3, 1866.

⁸⁸ *Courier*, January 9, 1866.

⁸⁹ *Advertiser*, April 12, 1866.

⁹⁰ *Courier*, May 8, 1866; *Advertiser*, May 3, 1866.

nurserymen. The picture was similar at Blairgowrie, where there were disputes among the shoemakers, ploughmen and journeymen drapers,⁹¹ and it was stated that

"a great revolution had taken place in almost every trade in the country. The agitation for a reduction in the hours of labour had spread with startling rapidity through the length and breadth of the land."⁹²

During this general air of dispute important developments began to occur in the nature of the arbitration process, with the operatives appointing representative committees. In Blackford "the tailors, too, are clubbing to get their pay advanced."⁹³ At Crieff it was reported that

"the Committee appointed by the journeymen shoemakers have presented a statement to the masters requesting an advance of 12 and a half per cent...The men also ask the employers to meet them on Friday night."⁹⁴

Also in 1872, even in the more scattered workshops of the Coupar Angus region, journeymen organisation was apparent. In April

"a meeting of the journeymen joiners...was held on Wednesday night for the purpose of considering the propriety of petitioning their employers for a reduction in the hours of labour...A delegate was appointed from each shop, and those delegates are to make personal applications to the employers to grant the changes indicated."⁹⁵

In the same year in Blairgowrie

"the Committee of the nine hours movement met in

⁹¹ *Advertiser*, May 16, 1866.

⁹² *Courier*, May 15, 1866.

⁹³ *Advertiser*, April 12, 1866.

⁹⁴ *Courier*, May 8, 1866.

⁹⁵ *Courier*, April 2, 1872.

their usual place...when the secretary reported that the petition...had been signed by 1741 persons...The Committee agreed to remain in office till the result of the Bill was known. After some talk as to the benefit of keeping up a Committee in the various districts to give and receive information regarding trade movements in order that masters and servants might come to one mind, the meeting separated."⁹⁶

By comparison, however, the masters appeared to be much less organised in their response to the journeymen. In 1867 the operative tailors of Alyth attempted to establish a standard time log for work, and it was reported

"Some of the masters have agreed to pay the new rate. The others will likely do so too."⁹⁷

A similar meeting was called between the master and journeyman tailors of Crieff over the same issue, but

"at this meeting only two of the masters appeared, who declined to accede to the terms. Great dissatisfaction was the case."⁹⁸

In 1868 the operative joiners of Crieff and neighbourhood demanded an advance of wages of 2s.6d. per week, but it was reported

"we understand that some of the masters have intimated their willingness to grant the advance, but others seem determined against yielding to the demand made."⁹⁹

In 1860 in Auchterarder a dispute arose among the masons over wages, and

"the masons in the employment of the various building firms here refused to commence work...One

⁹⁶ *Courier*, June 4, 1872.

⁹⁷ *Courier*, May 7, 1867.

⁹⁸ *Courier*, July 30, 1867.

⁹⁹ *Courier*, March 24, 1868.

of the largest firms agreed to the demand, and their men immediately resumed work, but several others have showed a greater resistance to concede it."¹⁰⁰

After about a fortnight the rest of the masters also conceded to their workmen's demands.¹⁰¹ The Alyth tailors' strike of 1867 was broken when

"one of the employers having refused to go along with the other masters, they have been obliged to give way. The men are all in at the old rate."¹⁰²

The early signs of co-operation amongst the operative craftsmen developed into contacts with national union movements in this period, and such occurrences were again in contrast to the activities of the masters. The shoemakers were an active group in this respect. The Glasgow Boot and Shoe Operatives' Protective Society and the Edinburgh Society of Cordwainers formed a joint committee in 1866, and in the same year delegates from thirty six Scottish centres united in a National Society with its headquarters at Edinburgh.¹⁰³ In the same year, the shoemakers of Blairgowrie were

"uneasy and restless...and are yearning after what they call a 'complete organisation of shoemakers'. They held a meeting here on the eighth, and discussed their grievances, and resolved, that in conjunction with the shoemakers of Alyth and Coupar Angus, they should send a delegate to the national conference of shoemakers, to be held in Edinburgh

¹⁰⁰ *Courier*, July 26, 1860.

¹⁰¹ *Courier*, August 9, 1860.

¹⁰² *Courier*, November 12, 1867.

¹⁰³ Marwick, W.H. 1967 *A short history of labour in Scotland*. W. and R. Chambers Ltd., Edinburgh and London. p. 38.

on 18th June."¹⁰⁴

In the same year the master shoemakers of Alyth were forced to make reference to the "national statement of shoemakers' wages" to settle a dispute.¹⁰⁵ National tailors' organisation in Scotland derived from the Journeyman Tailors' Union in Glasgow (established 1850), which joined a Federal Union in Scotland in 1851. A national dispute was held in 1866 for advanced wages based on the London log, and this led to the formation of the Scottish National Operative Tailors' and Tailoresses' Association.¹⁰⁶ In 1867 the master tailors of Coupar Angus were forced to accept the "time statement for Scotland" to settle the strike there.¹⁰⁷ The master tailors of Crieff in the same year showed a poor turn out at an arranged meeting with the journey-men to discuss a new wages log, "and it was resolved to refer the case to the Glasgow Union."¹⁰⁸ The Scottish United Operative Masons were established in the 1840s.¹⁰⁹ In 1872 the following report was made under the heading of the "New Town hall and trade union dispute"

"In consequence of a dispute among the masons engaged at the new Town Hall building operations were suspended on Friday. The cause of this dispute was not so much a case of wages... as the employ-

¹⁰⁴ *Advertiser*, May 10, 1866.

¹⁰⁵ *Advertiser*, September 27, 1866.

¹⁰⁶ Marwick, *op cit*, pp. 37, 51.

¹⁰⁷ *Courier*, May 21, 1867.

¹⁰⁸ *Courier*, July 30, 1867.

¹⁰⁹ Marwick, *op cit*, p. 29.

ment of union and non-unionists together. A good deal of chaffing had been going on for some time, and the thing was approaching a crisis, when the entire squad was paid off. Arrangements, however, were come to whereby the work was resumed on Tuesday."¹¹⁰

A strike at Coupar Angus in the winter of 1874-5 involved the "journeymen slaters in the Coupar Angus district belonging to the union,"¹¹¹ and the men managed after striking for two months to get their wages advanced from six and a half pence to seven pence per hour.¹¹² In 1875 the bakers of Coupar Angus, Blairgowrie and Alyth actually withdrew from the National Association due to the charges levied by the headquarters in Glasgow,¹¹³ and attempts were still being made to get them to rejoin in 1890.¹¹⁴ The Associated Carpenter's and Joiners' Society was formed in 1861.¹¹⁵ In 1883 in Coupar Angus

"a meeting of the operative joiners of the district was held on Saturday for the purpose of forming a Joiners' Branch Society for the district. Mr. McIntyre, delegate from the Central Lodge, Glasgow, and Mr. Blair, secretary of the Blairgowrie branch were present...A society for the district was formed."¹¹⁶

By 1892 a number of national unions had established branches in the area. These were: the Associated Carpenters and Joiners in Blairgowrie, Coupar Angus and

¹¹⁰ *Advertiser*, March 21, 1872.

¹¹¹ *Courier*, January 19, 1875.

¹¹² *Courier*, January 19, 1875.

¹¹³ *Courier*, January 26, 1875.

¹¹⁴ *Courier*, September 16, 1890.

¹¹⁵ Marwick, *op cit*, p. 187.

¹¹⁶ *Courier*, October 16, 1883.

Crieff; the United Operative Masons' Association of Scotland in Alyth, Crieff and Muthill; the Amalgamated Society of Tailors in Blairgowrie and Rattray; and the Associated Iron Moulders of Scotland, also in Blairgowrie.¹¹⁷

In general, this establishment of contacts with nationally organised trade unions, and the forming of local branches by operative craftsmen, contrasted with the development of organisation amongst the masters. The exception here was the case of the handloom weavers. This reflected their unique position among the crafts in this area of being involved in an outworking system, under the control of major urban manufacturers. Between 1808 and 1811 the handloom weavers of Perthshire had contacts with weavers throughout Scotland, and a Perth based committee was given the task of organising the weavers of the area north of the Forth, and to make contact with Kinross, Fife and Aberdeen.¹¹⁸ The weavers were also engaged in a widespread wages action of 1809.¹¹⁹ Handloom weavers were among the first craft groups to suffer from the mechanisation of production, and an associated fall in living and

¹¹⁷ P.P., LXXXI, 1894. Pt. I, Appendice V. *Trade. Strikes and Lockouts. Report by the Chief Labour Correspondent on the Strikes and Lock-Outs of 1892.* pp. 275, 299, 306, 313.

¹¹⁸ Fraser, *op cit*, p. 87.

¹¹⁹ P.P., 1824, V. *Reports from Commissioners on Artizans and Machinery.* p. 62.

working conditions, which probably explains in part an early movement to unionisation. They formed national associations in 1851 - the Manufacturing Weavers' Protection Association for Scotland - and 1872 - the Association of Amalgamated Weavers of Scotland and Ireland.¹²⁰

In 1853 a general meeting of the handloom weavers of Crieff was held in the Weavers Hall to elect a delegate to send to the general meeting of delegates in Glasgow.¹²¹ The delegate handloom weavers approached manufacturers in Glasgow with a printed circular requesting a ten percent rise, but without success.¹²² Due to price cutting by Glasgow manufacturers in 1854, the Dunning handloom weavers were in contact with the Weaver's Central Committee in Glasgow.¹²³ By 1867 a United Society of Weavers based in Coupar Angus had been formed.¹²⁴ 1872 saw major efforts to establish a single union, in what was probably a desperate last ditch effort to keep the trade alive. At Auchterarder the handloom weavers

"resolved to form a union, for the purpose of guarding the interests of those forming it."¹²⁵

In July of the same year a deputation from the Perth

¹²⁰ Marwick, *op cit*, p. 22.
¹²¹ *Courier*, April 14, 1853.
¹²² *Courier*, April 21, 1853.
¹²³ *Courier*, January 19, 1854.
¹²⁴ *Courier*, October 1, 1867.
¹²⁵ *Courier*, May 28, 1872.

Weavers' Union addressed the Auchterarder handloom weavers,¹²⁶ and a deputation from the Perth and Scone Weavers' Union addressed those of Dunning, but

"the meeting was poorly attended and little enthusiasm manifested. The apparent object wanted is the formation of a national union, tables of prices &c. We have little hope of its success, seeing the power loom is destined to supercede the handloom entirely."¹²⁷

In August a final attempt was made at union when

"the handloom weavers unions in Auchterarder, Crieff, Comrie, Muthill, Blackford, and Aberuthven formed themselves into one corporate body for the promotion of the interests of the trade."¹²⁸

The experience of the handloom weavers, and their attempts to organise against the urban manufacturers who were controlling the outworking system, were in marked contrast to the lack of formal organisation among the other employers and shopkeepers.

Throughout the period masters did at times combine over trade issues. However, compared to the organisation of the journeymen, these meetings rarely seem to have led to the development of formal associations. Examples of the co-operation of masters were usually focused upon economic issues. In Auchterarder in 1851 the master shoemakers attempted to decrease the journeymens' wages by 2d. per pair, which led to a strike.¹²⁹ A common issue for co-operative action was

¹²⁶ *Advertiser*, July 25, 1872.

¹²⁷ *Courier*, July 30, 1872.

¹²⁸ *Courier*, August 27, 1872.

¹²⁹ *Advertiser*, March 13, 1851.

the fixing of prices. In 1855 in Crieff

"the master boot and shoe makers of this place and neighbourhood...unanimously agreed that a rise in the price of boots and shoes, commensurate with the advance on leather, should immediately take place."¹³⁰

The master tailors of the Carse of Gowrie met in 1863 and decided not to grant credit without security, and transacted "other business of a private nature."¹³¹ The master carpenters of the Stormont district held a meeting in Spittalfield in 1866

"for the purpose of comparing and adjusting their scale of prices, in consideration of the rise in materials and workmanship."¹³²

1866 saw a number of other instances of co-operation amongst the masters. The master blacksmiths throughout Strathmore agreed to give their workmen the Saturday half-holiday, and in Dunkeld the master boot and shoe-makers raised the price of footwear "for the purpose of giving their workmen an advance of wages."¹³³ However, action was still fairly random and unco-ordinated. In Crieff

"a special meeting of the master blacksmiths was held on Tuesday, to consider what steps should be taken to get an advance of prices for the various types of smith work. The meeting so far as numbers was concerned was a complete failure, and, in consequence of the leading men of the trade being absent, it was considered prudent in the meantime to take no action in the matter."¹³⁴

¹³⁰ *Advertiser*, May 8, 1856.

¹³¹ *Courier*, July 14, 1863.

¹³² *Advertiser*, April 26, 1866.

¹³³ *Courier*, May 22, 1866.

¹³⁴ *Advertiser*, June 21, 1866.

The attempted introduction of a time log for the tailors of Alyth in 1867 caused the masters to meet and discuss the situation:

"the employers do not, we understand, complain so much of the sum sought per hour as the extra time fixed for the various departments of work. They say from one to two hours is taken for coats, trousers and other garments more than is fairly required, and that thus the price to be paid will be considerably increased to them, which they will not get from the public."¹³⁵

Among the food processing trades meetings were more frequent as responses were necessary in pricing structures relative to changes in the cost of agricultural produce. In Auchterarder in 1870, for example, there was a meeting of the master bakers

"to consider what was advisable to be done as to the present rise in the price of flour. It was resolved that the price of bread should not be raised in the meantime."¹³⁶

In 1870 the Aberfeldy butchers raised the price of beef by 1d. per pound due to the rise in the cost to them.¹³⁷ Thus though it is possible to find evidence of master tradesmen meeting to come to mutual agreement on particular trade issues, in most cases it seems that this was done without any formal association or organisation. For the most part the masters seem to have co-

¹³⁵ *Courier*, May 7, 1867.

¹³⁶ *Courier*, June 28, 1870; also *Courier*, September 16, 1864 (Crieff); *Courier*, August 17, 1869 (Blairgowrie); *Courier*, December 7, 1869 (Auchterarder); *Courier*, April 18, 1871 (Blairgowrie).

¹³⁷ *Courier*, November 15, 1870.

operated only when circumstances demanded. The classic instance of this was of course the formation of associations in response to the threat posed by the Arrestment of Wages Act of 1870 (see Section 7.5). Some noted instances of organisation expressing itself in actual association are discussed below.

The master tailors seem to have been one of the few groups to organise themselves into a formal organisation. In 1867 in Coupar Angus

"a meeting of the master tailors of this district was held in the Royal Hotel. There was a good attendance and it was unanimously resolved to form a local Association for their mutual benefit. Mr. Charles Scott, Blairgowrie, was elected president, and a member from Alyth and Coupar Angus to form a committee."¹³⁸

Further developments occurred in February of 1868 when

"A meeting of the master tailors of the Strathmore District was held...There was a good attendance...A deputation appeared at the meeting from the Carse of Gowrie Master Tailors' Protection Society and explained its constitution and working; after hearing which, the meeting unanimously agreed to form a similar Society for this district."¹³⁹

In 1869 the Strathmore Master Tailors' Mutual Trade Protection Society held two meetings, one at Coupar Angus and the other in Blairgowrie. At the January meeting the names of bad customers were discussed, and

"several rules adopted for the guidance of the members of the Association, to which all present promised strictly to adhere."

In the meeting in May

¹³⁸ *Courier*, September 3, 1867.
¹³⁹ *Courier*, February 4, 1868.

"it was proposed and agreed to that all accounts be rendered half-yearly - at Whitsunday and Martinmas - for payment."

The membership of the Society was drawn from a number of the settlements in Strathmore, from the market towns and also from the smaller villages such as Newtyle, Bankfoot, Forneth, Stanley, Methven and Clunie.¹⁴⁰ As noted in Section 7.5 the Society decided in 1871 to give no more credit to those protected under the Wages Arrestment Act of 1870.¹⁴¹ Later in the same year the Society's annual meeting was followed by a social in the form of a picnic at Methven Castle.¹⁴² By 1872 the tailors had further developed their organisation, as they had amalgamated with the Carse of Gowrie association, to form the Strathmore and Carse of Gowrie Master Tailors' Protection Association. The annual business meeting was followed by a picnic and social at Glamis Castle.¹⁴³ Other formal organisations of masters were not found, though a Gamekeepers' Association was formed at Logierait in 1886. However, its object seemed to have been rather different, being to

"further the preservation and rearing of game in the Perthshire Highlands."¹⁴⁴

Shopkeepers and merchants also organised to carry out certain measures, but again there was little formal

¹⁴⁰ *Courier*, January 19 and May 11, 1869.

¹⁴¹ *Courier*, January 17, 1871.

¹⁴² *Courier*, August 8, 1871.

¹⁴³ *Courier*, July 30, 1872.

¹⁴⁴ *Courier*, June 8, 1886.

organisation. During the national short hours movement of 1850-61, which saw the formation of a Drapers' Association with the intent of securing seven or eight o'clock as the usual closing time,¹⁴⁵ the shopkeepers of Lowland Perthshire were also active. Between 1859 and 1861 Nine Hours Committees were formed throughout Scotland.¹⁴⁶ In Crieff in December 1858 the drapers agreed on an early closing time.¹⁴⁷ Early in 1859 most of the other retailers followed suit

"the grocers and booksellers in Crieff are to follow in the wake of the drapers, having agreed to close their places of business at seven, in place of eight o'clock as formerly...the writers are also to shut up their chambers at seven o'clock."¹⁴⁸

An eight o'clock closing time was adopted by the Auchterarder merchants, butchers, bakers and shoemakers the following year.¹⁴⁹ Later in 1860 the Blairgowrie grocers agreed to the same hour, and

"a committee was appointed to wait upon the absent merchants with the view to getting them to agree to the resolution."¹⁵⁰

In some places in Scotland the hours were extended again due to economic circumstances,¹⁵¹ and in Auchterarder in 1872 there was a concerted effort among the retailers to re-establish the same hours that had been

¹⁴⁵ Marwick, *op cit*, pp. 155-8.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Courier*, December 30, 1858.

¹⁴⁸ *Courier*, January 20, 1859.

¹⁴⁹ *Advertiser*, February 2, 1860.

¹⁵⁰ *Courier*, November 8, 1860.

¹⁵¹ Marwick, 1936, *op cit*, p. 158.

set in 1860. At a meeting of the employers

"it was moved...and carried unanimously that the provision trade shut at eight, and the drapers, clothiers, shoemakers, stationers, and ironmongers at seven o'clock."¹⁵²

By 1870 a formal organisation of commercial interests in Blairgowrie existed in the shape of the Trade Protection Association. At a meeting in March of that year minutes of the annual meeting were read, and the topic for the next meeting agreed upon, namely

"Are the duties on tea, sugar, and coffee beneficial to the grocery trade?"¹⁵³

At the monthly meeting of July of the same year

"various subjects of importance and interest to merchants were freely discussed, among others the Wages Arrestment Bill."¹⁵⁴

The evidence available regarding the issues raised in this section is limited. However, it appears from the composition of friendly societies that in the first half of the nineteenth century a sense of community was perhaps more important than craft consciousness. In the second half of the century, with the formation of combinations based on employer or employee status masters and journeymen became more polarised in their interests. However, the journeymen seem to have organised to protect their interests in a more permanent form than the masters did. In addition, the masters organised more against the threat to their economic

¹⁵² *Courier*, July 23, 1872; *Advertiser*, July 25, 1872.

¹⁵³ *Courier*, March 8, 1870.

¹⁵⁴ *Courier*, July 12, 1870.

powers by the working classes (through strikes and abuse of the credit system) than against the larger merchants and manufacturers, despite the unequal economic relationships that existed between the two. The reasons for the relative lack of formal organisation amongst the employers are discussed in the conclusion below.

7.7 INVOLVEMENT IN LOCAL AFFAIRS

It has been suggested that throughout urban Britain in the nineteenth century the middle class and petit bourgeois groups considered local politics more important than national.¹⁵⁵ This was largely due to the fact that many of the decisions affecting their interests were taken at a local level, such as those regarding taxes, rates and trade regulations. The key to the situation was the ownership of small property, as

"local government finance in Britain was derived exclusively from a tax on real property which gave those whose livelihood rested on the use of small property...a strong incentive to keep tight control on expenditure and rates."¹⁵⁶

This was particularly true for small tradespeople and shopkeepers who had to pay rates on both business and

¹⁵⁵ Crossick, G. 1984 "The petite bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Britain: the urban and liberal case" in Crossick and Haupt, *op cit*, p. 82; Knox, E. 1986 "Between Capital and Labour. The Petite Bourgeoisie in Victorian Edinburgh" *Unpublished PhD thesis*, University of Edinburgh. pp. 329-30.

¹⁵⁶ Crossick, *op cit*, p. 82.

residential properties. In addition to the issues of power and self-interest, status also played a role. Local politics gave the petite bourgeoisie the chance to gain power which was out of proportion to their individual wealth and influence.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, involvement in recreational activities allowed the lower middle class craftsmen and retailers to mix with other middle class groups, as well as the better-off of the working classes.

Such perspectives suggest that a study of the involvement of the rural tradespeople in local government and social institutions would be useful for comparative purposes. This is especially true given that the socio-economic structure of any location had a bearing on the local political formation.¹⁵⁸ It also makes it possible to assess to what extent these groups saw themselves as forming the basis of a class of small property owners. Religious and political affiliations were also important variables in council compositions, as was personal ambition, but it is likely that property ownership was the more important variable. Another important variable was gender, as no women were found in this analysis holding offices. In addition, as suggested above, it is also possible to examine the influence of the more geographically stable elements of

¹⁵⁷ Knox, *op cit*, p. 330.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

society in local social affairs.

Isolated examples exist of the influential roles that individuals of diverse occupations could play in local society. The main offices of the committee of the Dunkeld Carpenters' Friendly Society in 1866 were held by John Milne - a painter (President), Alexander Scott - a boot and shoe maker (Treasurer), and John Cameron - a merchant (Secretary).¹⁵⁹ The greater geographical stability of those engaged in the trades may have lain behind the fact that James Armitt was President of the Meikle branch of the Ploughman's Federal Union in 1892, but was a joiner by trade.¹⁶⁰ Opportunities existed for re presentation on non-governmental associations. For example, in Errol in 1864 a Right of Way Association was formed by the villagers, who were concerned over their right of way to walk and shoot along the Tay between high and low water mark. A meeting was held to elect a board for the Association, and chose a merchant, the manager of the gas works, and the manager of the chemical works. The Convenor of the Committee was a merchant.¹⁶¹ A meeting was held in Coupar Angus in 1864 to set up a penny savings bank to encourage "habits of

¹⁵⁹ S.R.O., FS.4/1285.

¹⁶⁰ P.P., XXXVI, 1893-94. *Royal Commission on Labour. The Agricultural Labourer. Report by Mr. G.R. Gillespie on the Arable Districts of Forfarshire and East Perthshire.* p. 153.

¹⁶¹ *Courier*, July 19, 1864.

thrift and industry." A number of "influential gentlemen" were present, and those appointed to the board of management were a solicitor, a banker, two manufacturers, a teacher and a draper.¹⁶² However, throughout the century it is likely that local trades to some extent were involved in local affairs. In 1850 in Dunkeld

"the offices of the Inspector of the Poor and Session Clerk recently became vacant, for which there were many applicants - teachers, writers, bank accountants etc. These all proved unsuccessful, and the blacksmith of the village has been appointed to both situations."¹⁶³

It is possible to examine these issues on a more systematic basis for the end of the nineteenth century. The occupations of the individuals who formed the county council in the period 1890-1900, and the various local government councils and other institutions in 1890, were traced using trade directories. Figure 7.9 shows the composition of the county councils. The other committees were grouped into five types; the police commission, burgh and associated officials, other offices, school boards, and board members of sports clubs and leisure institutions. The composition of these groups is explained with Figures 7.10 and 7.11, which show the results of the analysis.

The county council, as shown by Figure 7.9, was dominated by the landed proprietors in the period 1890-1900. Farmers formed the next most significant group,

¹⁶² *Courier*, November 7, 1864.

¹⁶³ *Courier*, April 4, 1850.

Figure 7.9

Occupational composition of county councils, 1890-1900

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>% of County Council</u>	<u>no.</u>
Proprietors	39	46
Ministers	0	1
Manufacturers	7	8
Tradesmen	6	7
Retailers	3	4
Farmers	18	21
Professionals	12	14
Not known	15	18
Total	100%	119

Source: *Leslie's Directory for Perth and Perthshire, 1890, 1895, 1900.*

though they held slightly less than half the number of seats. Four of the larger Strathmore farmers were members of the County Council in 1892-3.¹⁶⁴ Thus it was the landed interest that showed the most interest in politics at this level. The professionals were the only other propertied group that had much influence, with manufacturers, tradesmen and retailers only gaining a few seats in this period. To a certain extent this must have reflected the areas of control of the County Council. To give one example of their interests in the agricultural sector, during a period of improvement of the estate housing stock in the early 1890s, the M.P. for Meigle, Sir John Kinloch, stated that the County Council authorities had been "active", though in the opinion of Henry Carr, an estate factor near Perth,

"the County Council has not done anything towards inspecting or condemning cottages or bothies."¹⁶⁵

Figure 7.10 shows the occupational composition of those holding elected offices for 1890. The first type of office to be considered is that of the police commissioners. This group has been considered because, as noted of Edinburgh during the same period,

"the Police Commission was of crucial importance for the petite bourgeoisie in the conflict for power in the city."¹⁶⁶

The Police Commission held control over policing, but

¹⁶⁴ P.P., 1893-94, XXXVI. p. 152.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁶⁶ Knox, *op cit*, p. 372.

Figure 7.10

Occupational composition of local authorities, 1890

Occupation	Type of council		
	Police commissioners	Burgh ¹ officials etc.	Other ²
Professional	4	34	12
Schoolmaster	0	23	29
Minister	1	1	2
Proprietor	1	4	1
Farmer	1	6	1
Manufacturer	2	1	1
Merchant	3	2	6
Retailer	3	5	4
Tradesman	19	5	7
Not known	4	8	10
Total	38	89	73

Source: *Leslie's Directory for Perth and Perthshire, 1890-91.*

Composition of councils:

¹ Bailies, burgh officials, inspectors of poor, poor house board, sanitary inspectors, burgh surveyors, town clerks, -officers, board member of public works, muir commissioner, parochial board, road trustees, tax collectors.

² Town hall keepers, sextons, bill posters, town criers, heritors' clerks, registrars, sessions clerks.

also cleansing, lighting, and other minor areas of authority jurisdiction, and could levy rates. This commission influenced the operations of the craft sector in the towns in many ways. In Blairgowrie in 1890 two illustrative cases came before the Police Court. The first involved George Stephen, a mason, and his son, who

"were each fined 2s.6d. last week, at the Police Court, for breaking up the pavement in front of Mr. Ford's shop in High Street, without obtaining consent of the Commissioners."¹⁶⁷

In another case

"David Clyde, tea dealer, Alexander Sim, joiner, and Robert Frazer, blacksmith, were charged with having put up projecting sign boards, without having obtained the sanction of the Police Commission."¹⁶⁸

As well as wishing to control policy in such areas which had a direct affect on their livelihood, craftsmen and other petit bourgeois groups sought power on the Police Commission in order to keep public expenditure down to a minimum, thus reducing their rates bills.

In Edinburgh petit bourgeois groups formed fifty six percent of the police commissioners, and in Lowland Perthshire they held sixty six percent of the posts (tradesmen, merchants and retailers). This share of the number of total seats was out of all proportion to

¹⁶⁷ *Courier*, April 15, 1890.

¹⁶⁸ *Courier*, May 6, 1890.

their numerical importance in society. Of the thirty eight posts of Police Commissioner, nineteen were held by tradesmen, compared to four professionals and one farmer. John Adam, a joiner and cabinet maker, held one post as a Commissioner in Coupar Angus, while John Cramb, a mason and builder, was part of the board in Dunblane. However, no other evidence is known about the wealth or property holding of these tradesmen. How representative of other tradespeople and their views were they?

In Edinburgh,¹⁶⁹ the professionals as part of an elite group presented the biggest challenge, and in this analysis they are also revealed as second only to the tradesmen, though they were much less important in this role. The proportion of seats they held was, however, large compared to their numerical importance (see Figure 7.2). Other groups were much less important. Proprietors had little presence in this group, and occupations such as farm servants, labourers and textile workers were not represented at all.

The Town or Burgh Council was the central institution dominating local government, and after the Burgh Reform (Scotland) Act of 1833 it was elected on the basis of ratepayer democracy. The second set of elected offices examined here consisted of the burgh officials and other similar offices. The Town Council was concer-

¹⁶⁹ Knox, *op cit*, p. 336.

ned with magisterial affairs, administration of the poor, police, lighting, water, education, paving and trade. The professionals dominated these positions, as Figure 7.10 shows, with a share of offices which was much larger than their importance in the occupied population. Isaac Anderson, who was a factor as well as a solicitor and notary in Blairgowrie, held the post of town officer, and was also a Sheriff Court Official and a road trustee. In the villages, where there were fewer professionals, the schoolmasters were more common in these offices, again in a fashion which was out of proportion to their numerical importance. As an example, William Anderson of Bendochy combined the office of Inspector of Poor with his schoolmaster's post.

Also of importance in the villages were the farmers, and this was the most important area of activity for this group in the local committees. In Scone, Basil McKenzie, a farmer, also filled the offices of poor inspector, rate collector and session clerk. All other groups had little involvement. Particularly in the villages, the tradespeople and retailers were unable to compete with the professionals, and even the farmers, for these posts.

The last column in Figure 7.10 shows the distribution of occupations of those holding other offices. The offices in this group were those which would probably

have had some status attached to them and perhaps some financial reward. However, they were not directly involved in decision making that would affect the local communities. The pattern revealed is basically the same as in the previous case, with the schoolmasters and professionals dominating, though the trades were slightly more important and farmers less so.

Figure 7.11 shows the occupational composition of the members of the school boards in the area, and also of the committee members of sports clubs and leisure institutions. It was not possible to trace the occupations of quite a high percentage of these individuals. Care must therefore be taken with the results, though they do reflect the pattern seen in the other types of councils.

In the case of the school boards the professionals dominated, and the schoolmasters were again important in the villages. The representation of both groups was out of proportion to their numerical importance in society. All of the other groups were poorly represented, and occupations such as handloom weavers, textile workers, labourers and farm servants were unrepresented.

However, in the case of sports and leisure clubs the trades were second only to the professionals. The latter group again had a large influence. Ministers such as Rev. J. Brailsford of Blairgowrie organised

Figure 7.11

Occupational composition of educational and
leisure institutions, 1890

Occupation	Type of council	
	School boards	¹ Board members of sports clubs, leisure institutions
Professional	17	4
Schoolmaster	6	7
Minister	2	4
Proprietor	2	4
Farmer	1	1
Manufacturer	0	2
Merchant	1	5
Retailer	1	6
Tradesman	2	17
Not known	11	26
Total	43	93

Source: *Leslie's Directory for Perth and Perthshire, 1890-91.*

¹ Secretaries etc. of sports clubs (e.g. cricket, curling), Mechanic's Institutes, libraries, Temperance societies, People's Rest etc.

philanthropic societies such as the People's Rest; James Stewart (also of Blairgowrie) was the secretary of the Mechanics Institute in his time off from being a magistrate, and James Cusine, schoolmaster, was also librarian of the Library and Reading Room in Dunning. This probably reflected as much their greater literacy, numeracy and organisational skills as their status.

Tradesmen, however, were also important in the organisation of such social institutions, and were over represented in such posts compared to what their numerical importance in society might have suggested. For example, James Haggart of Stanley, a tailor, was also secretary of the Temperance Society. Some interpreters have suggested that the involvement of the small propertied interests in formal associations was instigated by the middle classes. The object of such involvement was to shape both their behaviour and that of the working classes.¹⁷⁰ Certainly the membership and active involvement in recreational clubs and societies must have meant social contact with the middle classes, and gone some way to have influenced working class leisure patterns (and more) through, for example, mechanics' institutes or reading rooms.

¹⁷⁰ Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G. 1984 "Shopkeepers, master artisans and the historian: the petite bourgeoisie in comparative focus" in Crossick and Haupt, *op cit*, p. 75.

As examples, the vice-president of the Blairgowrie Mechanics' Institute in 1895 was one Thomas Steven, a joiner and cartwright. The president was a landed proprietor, the secretary a magistrate, the treasurer a schoolmaster, and the keeper an architect and civil engineer. Similarly, in Blairgowrie in 1872 a committee was formed to organise a poultry show, starting with an exhibition "intended mostly for chickens." This organisation brought together a gentleman, a banker, two drapers, three joiners and the Bailie.¹⁷¹

Taken overall (a total of 336 posts) the schoolmasters (nineteen percent) and the other professionals (twenty six percent) dominated the offices considered here. This is particularly clear when Figure 7.2 is again referred to, since the numerical importance of these groups was only one percent and four percent of the occupied population respectively. The tradesmen were consistently a significant group, holding more than twice the number of seats of any of the remaining groups (fifteen percent), but they were represented only slightly more than in proportion to their numerical significance. However, in this context the trades were particularly represented on the Police Commission, perhaps the offices most vital to their interests.

In addition, an assessment of a group purely on the basis of its numerical strength leaves out many

¹⁷¹ *Advertiser*, September 19, 1872.

other considerations regarding their importance in local politics. Significantly, the landed interests, comprised of the farmers (three percent) and the landowners (four percent), were poorly represented here compared to their numbers, but were much more dominant at the level of the county council, dominating the professionals in this area of local politics. To a certain extent this reflected the fact that

"petit bourgeois strength in local government [rested] as much on the willingness of a larger bourgeoisie to withdraw to a greater regional or national stage as on their actual displacement."¹⁷²

This is seen in the greater interest of the landed interest in county council positions, and also in the domination of parliamentary politics by the landowners. It is noticable that groups such as labourers, textile workers and farm servants were not represented at all in these offices.

What this type of analysis cannot assess, however, is the role played by the craftspeople as important elements in society in informal ways, particularly with regard to the working class. As has been noted the relationship between small masters or shopkeepers and the working classes was an ambiguous one.¹⁷³ Often they were in contact with the working class as businessmen, granters of credit, employers, landlords, or, as shown

¹⁷² Crossick, *op cit*, p. 82.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

above, as members of councils or institutions. But on another level they were in day to day contact with the working classes. Most importantly the two met on a daily basis through the businessman-client relationship. But in addition, the village craft workshop was often a focus of informal socialising, where the local population could meet, and through which information could be passed.

The smiddy was just such a focus of the community, and some examples can be given. In a case of robbery in 1834 involving the theft of cloth which was suspected of having occurred in the Stanley area, one of the witnesses, Alexander Stewart, noted that he had

"heard nothing this morning as to the Robbery at William Rattray's until he went to the Smiddy of William Bruce."¹⁷⁴

"Smithy chat" was

"the gossip discussed at a smithy, as a common local meeting place."¹⁷⁵

In William Alexander's novel *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk*, set in an Aberdeenshire parish in the nineteenth century, many social exchanges occurred in the local smiddy, and one evening when some farm servants were in with the plough irons, the scene was such that

¹⁷⁴ S.R.O., *Precognitions from the High Court of Justiciary*, AD14/17/89.

¹⁷⁵ Grant, W. and Murison, D.D. 1971 (eds.) *The Scottish National Dictionary*. The Scottish National Dictionary Association, Edinburgh. 10 volumes.

"the gudge had got himself comfortably fixed up on the smiddy hearth, and was talking away full swing in a half-oracular sort of style to several other lads."¹⁷⁶

Smiddies even formed a focus for the informal economy, as

"at one time [smiths] were great for haein' rouns [auctions]. An' they held them at the smiddy - aw, a lot o' things that they'd gathered roon' about, sell them maybe Saturday afternoon."¹⁷⁷

Even in the early twentieth century the smiddy was a place where

"the men gathered to discuss the news, youngsters listened to their elders, and people crowded to wonder at an occasional travelling showman."¹⁷⁸

One Aberdeenshire tailor noted how "many came into our workshop in the evenings" for conversation.¹⁷⁹

While the role of the tradespeople in the community in this area needs more examination, it is obvious that they saw the need to enter into local politics and social activities, both to protect their interests and to enhance their status. While at the level of national and regional politics the landed interest dominated, only challenged by the professionals, at the more local level the small craftsmen, merchants and retailers were

¹⁷⁶ Alexander, W. 1884 (reprint) *Johnny Gibb of Gushet-neuk*. David Douglas, Edinburgh. p. 91.

¹⁷⁷ Mr. H. Young of Pitcairngreen, interviewed in 1985.

¹⁷⁸ Sprott, *op cit*, p. 152.

¹⁷⁹ Stevenson, D. 1985 (ed.) *Reminiscences of an unlettered man. Robert Barclay, 1850-1924*. Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen. p. 41.

able to influence politics in a scale out of proportion to their numerical and economic powers.

7.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to examine certain aspects of the social experience of the rural tradespeople of Lowland Perthshire in the nineteenth century. Its aim has been to locate the position of those engaged in craft production in the overall social structure.

As a basis for examining the role and place of the tradespeople in nineteenth century rural society it can be demonstrated that, at least in the case of the masters established in business in mid-century, the craft workers were among the most geographically stable elements of society. This was most notable relative to the farm servants. This, it is suggested, provided the tradespeople with the opportunity to be more influential in local society.

Both in the academic literature (see Chapter One) and contemporary comment (see Section 7.2), journey-men/women were seen as members of the working class. Similarly, masters were typically seen as forming lower middle class, petit bourgeois groups. This seems to be confirmed by the practice of servant holding, where the pattern suggested that tradespeople fell between the professionals and farmers, and groups such as farm servants and labourers. In common with the merchants

and retailers, the servants held by tradespeople may have contributed to production directly or indirectly (by freeing family members from household tasks). This is consistent with the picture developed in Chapter Six of the importance of the family and household members in production.

The position of the tradespeople in the credit system was also intermediate between the working classes and the larger bourgeoisie. The tradespeople appeared to be on the upper side of an authority relationship based on credit granted to their customers (Section 7.5), though with the threat of bad debts and too much laying out of capital, this relationship could cut both ways. The fear of abuse of the credit system by the working classes prompted some rare joint action among the masters, merchants and retailers. However, the tradespeople were also often economically disadvantaged in their credit relationships with larger merchants and manufacturers (see Chapter Five).

The development of operatives' unions and masters' associations suggests that the interests of journeymen and masters appeared to polarise in the second half of the century. These developments suggest that the employers saw themselves as distinct from the working classes, at least in terms of their economic interests.

Regarding Britain as a whole, the extent and motives behind master craftsmen combining as interest

groups, and in their pattern of their involvement in local politics, have been generalised. Typically

"the very nature of petit-bourgeois problems encouraged [a] withdrawal into local and highly specific affairs. The distinctive interventions after mid-century were largely limited to pressure group activities in support of precise interests...What must be emphasized are the limited demands of [trade] associations, and the absence of a political perspective or demands for government help. The principal efforts were to maintain 'free' competition...Services to members and local responses to issues provoked by municipal government prevailed."¹⁸⁰

In Lowland Perthshire, the involvement of master tradesmen in local politics and formal organization was remarkably similar. As suggested above, the control of offices that most affected the small businessman and ratepayer, such as the Police Commission, was seen as important by this group. The formal organisation of masters was limited, and the associations remained local. Action was generally taken in response to specific issues, such as the Wages Arrestment Act. Another feature common to such groups elsewhere in Britain, including in Edinburgh,¹⁸¹ was the lack of small master organisation against the larger bourgeoisie, and this point is further discussed below.

One of the main points made in Chapter Five (Section 5.4) was that these rural tradespeople were involved in unequal economic relationships with the

¹⁸⁰ Crossick, *op cit*, p. 76.

¹⁸¹ Knox, *op cit*, p. 254.

merchants and manufacturers who were granting them credit. In some cases, where the creditors were establishing control on production or retailing themselves, the tradespeople were also in a subordinate position in an authority relationship. However, unlike the response to the threat of bad debts, and in particular the Wages Arrestment Act, where local trade organisations were formed, the tradespeople did not seem to organise formally against the larger manufacturers and merchants who were supplying credit.

A vital factor which helps explain this was undoubtedly the small business ideology of the tradespeople themselves. This, it has been argued above, developed particularly in the later nineteenth century. It is important to consider how these businessmen/women saw themselves within the economic system. In particular, it would be a mistake to assume some sort of organic model in which the small must naturally grow larger, and where the businessman/woman is necessarily seen as striving to continually increase the size of his or her business.

Something of the mental self-image held by these businessmen is revealed through the language they used when describing their businesses. In the words of William Keay, a bootmaker in Blairgowrie, on his bankruptcy he noted that previously "I did not stretch

out my hands so much as latterly."¹⁸² Alexander Todd, a Forfar tailor, stated when finding himself c.£100 in the black that he considered that "at all events it showed that I was fair with the world."¹⁸³ "I could have gone on" considered Robert McLauchlan of his shoemaking business in 1870, but for pressing creditors.¹⁸⁴ In the opinion of Thomas McIntosh, a builder in Blairgowrie, although he

"was behind in the world...if time was accorded me and said loan, I would be able to carry on...that in the course of time I might be enabled through my business to realise as much as would permit me to do so."¹⁸⁵

Perhaps these statements only reflect those who failed due to a lack of drive and ambition. However, such comments and language do suggest that at least some businesspeople held a perception of the enterprise as a means of making a modest living, as a way of getting by.¹⁸⁶ They do not suggest an entrepreneurial mentality which was totally concerned with continual expansion and increases in profit.

This self-image had certain important repercussions. It was important in that, while it might not have

¹⁸² S.R.O., CS318/11/145 (emphasis added).

¹⁸³ S.R.O., CS318/9/305 (emphasis added).

¹⁸⁴ S.R.O., CS318/15/295.

¹⁸⁵ S.R.O., CS318/8/246.

¹⁸⁶ This point has also been made with respect to those following certain commercial occupations in urban Scotland - see Morgan, N. and Trainor, R. 1990 "The Dominant Classes" in Fraser and Morris, *op cit*, p. 109.

been a hard line entrepreneurial attitude, it was a characteristically *small business* mentality, rather than one betraying a strong commitment to an artisanal ideal. This is a feature which has been considered as distinguishing petit bourgeois groups from

"a conflation of older master artisans rooted in the culture and assumptions of the craft."¹⁸⁷

Thus these craftspeople probably associated themselves *with* the business community, rather than as opposed to the larger merchants and manufacturers. As has been suggested regarding these groups elsewhere in Britain, they

"continued to visualize their future alongside, rather than dominated by, the larger bourgeoisie."¹⁸⁸

This factor, combined with the individual nature of business transactions, would have been vitally important in explaining the lack of organisation against the unequal economic relationship of the credit system. This suggestion ties in with the argument in Chapter Five (Section 5.6) that the tradespeople mostly saw the credit system as an opportunity rather than as a threat. In addition, since it was necessary for these businessmen to behave in a respectable and businesslike manner in order to be considered creditworthy by the

¹⁸⁷ Crossick, G. 1984 "The petite bourgeoisie in nineteenth century Britain: the urban and liberal case" in Crossick and Haupt, *op cit*, p. 85.

¹⁸⁸ Crossick, *op cit*, p. 82.

larger businesses,¹⁸⁹ any sort of combination against their potential creditors may well have been considered as jeopardizing any chance they had of gaining trade credit, which was so vital for production. Such organisation might have been expected to express itself in the form of co-operatives for joint purchasing of materials and goods, and collective retailing strategies. The lack of such features, combined with an individualistic and independent ideology, was common among small producers and retailers in many situations.¹⁹⁰

Another vital factor was the fact that these tradespeople were not organised by the larger merchants and manufacturers on an outworking system. The dramatically different response of the handloom weavers to the larger manufacturers, and their attempts at union, illustrate the importance of this. The fact that those in the building, clothing, food processing and service trades, and so on, could at least retain a personal ideology of independence, despite the economic realities of the credit system, was important.

¹⁸⁹ This feature was noted of small producers in Birmingham by Behagg - Behagg, C. 1984 "Masters and manufacturers: social values and the smaller unit of production in Birmingham, 1800-50" in Crossick and Haupt, *op cit*, p. 145.

¹⁹⁰ This point recurs in the work of a number of the contributors to Crossick and Haupt, *op cit*, pp. 9 (in general), 43 (in Germany), 177, 190 (in France).

Thus the master craftspeople of Lowland Perthshire in the nineteenth century composed a group which appeared to share many of the characteristics of other lower middle class groups in Britain. They also displayed similar characteristics to the rural petite bourgeoisie of nineteenth century France.¹⁹¹ Certainly they can be identified as a group which was in some ways distinct from labour, and in other ways similar to the middle classes. However, features such as the following of multiple occupations, the focus on the family, the high occupational mobility and instability of parts of this sector, the range of levels of enterprise and close daily contact with the working classes, all question just how cohesive a social formation they actually comprised. In particular, is it possible that the social and economic structures of nineteenth century Britain were so overarching and dominant that they produced the same social structure over space? This point is returned to in the concluding chapter, which follows.

¹⁹¹ See Farcy, J.-C. 1984 "Rural artisans in the Beauce during the nineteenth century" in Crossick and Haupt (eds.), *op cit*, pp. 217-238.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

This study has shown that craft producers in Lowland Perthshire formed an important socio-economic group throughout the period c.1750-c.1950. This period encompassed a series of important economic changes in Lowland Perthshire, especially in agriculture. These can be grouped into three simple periods: the changes associated with the agricultural Improvements c.1750-c.1840; a period of less rapid change throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which nonetheless saw important developments in agricultural technology and change in the labour force; and the mechanisation of farming in the twentieth century. The craft sector persisted throughout these changes, and showed both continuity and change during this period. This conclusion seeks to highlight the main points revealed by this study concerning rural small scale producers and production.

A series of fundamental changes in economy, society and agriculture occurred in the period c.1750-c.1840, associated with the agricultural Improvements. While the craftspeople may not have been prime motivators in the Improvements, the associated changes were greatly assisted by the infrastructure they provided. There were elements of continuity between the pre-Improvement craft sector and the craft

sector which operated within the new economic structures which were formed. Tradespeople continued to follow multiple occupations, some subsistence agriculture or land holding was still pursued, and production in some cases remained part-time and for a local market.

However, there was also change in the form of the craft sector in response to the increased demand for its products and services. Numbers in the trades probably increased, trades were pursued on a more full-time basis, and tasks became more specialised. However, this change was not just a passive response to the external forces of demand, but also involved entrepreneurship and innovation. The development of the market economy created niches for small scale production which those tradespeople with the necessary skills and ambition could take advantage of.

An associated change was the spatial shift of producers and production to the villages. Here the opportunities for the ownership of businesses and property, and the fact that the trades were then operating in market conditions, all led to the formation of a class of small businesspeople. An important factor here was that landowners and farmers continued to see the crafts as important for the running of the new agricultural regime established, and retained them on the land. Thus the Improvements laid

the basis for the development of status distinctions in the nineteenth century.

Craft production continued to be important in this rural area throughout the nineteenth century, and also well into the twentieth. This type of production was typified by its small scale nature. Craft production remained small scale in terms of labour and capital employed, and in terms of market size. There were, however, a range of levels of enterprise pursued. While some technological change did occur within the sector, for example in those firms which became involved with agricultural engineering, for the most part there were few technological developments in production.

The small scale nature of production explained in part the following of multiple occupations, and also the investment of business profits into other areas apart from the business. Expansion of a firm was generally only possible where a specialised product could be produced, otherwise expansion outside of local markets was difficult. Thus alternative forms of investment were probably perceived as being less risky. The following of multiple occupations continued, due to the entrepreneurial taking of opportunities, the need for diversification in areas of low demand, and the exploitation of a flexible labour market in times of economic insecurity.

Structural change in the craft sector between 1861

and 1940, as shown by the change in numbers employed in the sector, was related to four factors. Change was shown to have differed between sectors. While the economic structures of the trades themselves, local economic factors and change in agriculture all had their effects, the most important factor was the action of industrial and merchant capital in the expansion of national markets for mass produced products. This of course did not affect every sector equally, but along with developments in the transport system it did undermine the economic position of the trades.

Around 1850 the crafts as a whole were economically viable. One exception was the handloom weaving sector. This sector underwent a rapid decline due to the distinct nature of its relationship to larger units of production, particularly the organisation of production on an out-working system. From the mid-century onwards the experience of the various trades certainly varied by sector, but none of the sectors showed any dramatic decline.

One of the most important points was that the rural masters tended to retain control of their own marketing facilities, unlike the handloom weavers, or the trades in many urban areas. Production remained oriented towards small local markets, with individual customers, and was not organised on an out-working basis involving production for merchants. This gave the

small rural producers a greater degree of economic independence, and explains in part the later persistence of the trades in this rural area. In the twentieth century the more widespread introduction of the internal combustion engine into transportation and agriculture was responsible for further re-organisation, and in some cases decline, of craft production.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the involvement of the craftspeople in the credit system was an important feature of small scale production. The existence of records such as sequestrations makes Scotland a good location for the study of this topic. The most important sources of initial financing of these craft firms was a period of waged employment (which was probably also important for gaining skills), and the family. By contrast, the most important sources of capital when the firm was running were trade credit from merchants and manufacturers.

Credit was an important enabling force in production. The supply of goods on credit enabled these small firms to continue in production, and even expand, despite their under-capitalisation. However, it could also undermine the economic independence of the rural producers. Credit dependency allowed larger urban merchants and manufacturers to establish control over

rural production or retailing. Enforced bankruptcy could halt production altogether. The granting of credit to customers also sometimes led to financial difficulties for these firms, due to money being laid out for long periods, or to bad debts.

The spatial availability of trade credit mirrored the spatial distribution of industry on a national scale. As certain sectors, such as shoemaking or brewing, developed their markets over the nineteenth century the rural producers became increasingly integrated with national financial systems and national markets. The credit system formed an important link between urban and/or manufacturing areas and rural areas. The use of credit by urban-based companies in the active pursuit of the expansion of markets in rural areas was an important factor in the continuing economic integration of urban and rural areas.

The close association of the craft business and the family has been noted in a number of different contexts. In Lowland Perthshire the role of women was revealed to have been more important in craft enterprises than was previously thought of rural Scotland. There was in many of these cases a close association between the family and the business. There was also a gendered allocation of work. Women took less part in skilled craft-work, but performed an important role as managers and in handling business

transactions. This probably reflected the importance of their role in performing household duties, and also the need for there to be a contactable person at the site of the business.

The use of family labour was probably linked to the small scale nature of craft production. With a typically small labour force, the unpaid work of family members was important for the continued running of the business. However, the focus on the family did not in this instance represent the use of family labour as a response to poor economic conditions, as was seen in the handloom weaving sector. Marriage patterns and the pattern of occupational mobility between generations suggests that the crafts were seen as economically viable by a variety of other groups.

It was concluded that it is possible to point to variations in the organisation of the family which were related to the occupational structure of the families, in particular to the occupation of the head of household. A relationship was suggested between the social status (determined from occupational titles) of the family and its organisation. Family structure, patterns of children leaving home, and the occupations of the family members appeared to vary according to whether the head of household was a wage-earner or was self-employed. For example, in craft families more children remained at home longer (particularly male

children) and worked in the family enterprise. Employment opportunities within the family meant that composite family structures were more common, and the occupations of all the family members were similar. It is possible to suggest that the organisation of the family was both influenced by its place in the social structure, and helped to recreate that social structure.

Wray A number of points were raised with regard to the social characteristics of the tradespeople in later nineteenth century Lowland Perthshire. Marriage patterns and the pattern of occupational mobility between generations also suggest that there was a high degree of social cohesion within the trades. However, they also suggest that they were not an exclusive group. Recruitment of marriage partners and of labour occurred from a variety of social groups of both low and high status, from farmers and professionals to labourers and farm servants.

At least in the mid-nineteenth century the tradespeople were found to be less geographically mobile than many of the other groups, particularly farm servants and labourers. This stability may have been important in that it offered the possibility of a greater involvement in local social affairs. Master tradesmen were found to have formed an intermediate group in society according to the indicators examined,

such as servant holding. They were also intermediate in the credit system between large manufacturers and merchants (who were granting credit) and working class customers (who were receiving credit from the tradespeople). After 1850 at least there appeared to be a notable separation of the interests of operative tradespeople and employers, as expressed by the developments of unions and employers associations.

In terms of their involvement in local politics, master tradesmen in the 1890s were most interested in those offices most affecting small businesspeople and ratepayers. Their presence on the Police Commission was especially notable. Formal organisation among employers, in the form of masters associations or trade protection associations, was limited and remained local. The lack of organisation among employers was probably due to their small business ideology, and their association with the larger business community. In particular the operation of the credit system was seen by these businesspeople as an economic opportunity and not as a threat to their survival. Combined with the lack of organised out-working, this meant that the small masters were more able to maintain some economic independence.

As noted in the conclusion to Chapter Seven, some similarities were found between the experience of the trades in Lowland Perthshire and urban areas,

particularly in their social characteristics. The focus in local government on those posts most affecting the owners of small property, the features of the employers associations (and the lack of such organisation), and partly the relationship to larger units of merchant and manufacturing capital, all bore similarities with craft groups on a national basis. This similarity with other locations occurred in those cases where the structure involved had developed a national dimension. For example, the system of local government which was common throughout Scotland, or the development of national markets in some sectors, produced similarities in the overall characteristics of craft groups in a variety of areas.

However, the rural trades were different in other ways, which made them distinctly 'rural'. Examples include their interaction with the local labour market, the following of multiple-occupations, and the continuation of some involvement in landholding. More specifically, their continued control of their own markets, and their lack of organisation as out-workers of larger scale concerns, both allowed a degree of economic independence which was not seen in many urban areas. The socio-economic groups with which they interacted, such as the landowners, farmers, farm servants and agricultural labourers were also different from, for example, the urban professional elite of

nineteenth century Edinburgh.

Thus while there were broad structural similarities to their experience, the trades of Lowland Perthshire were rural not just because they were located in a rural area, but because they had certain distinctive characteristics which can be defined as rural. Certainly in the smaller towns and villages there must have been an important sense of community which made the experience of living their almost unique. This conclusion points to the importance of undertaking local studies before generalisations can be made about Scotland as a whole.

In conclusion, this study has suggested that the tradespeople of Lowland Perthshire formed an important economic and social group in the rural scene. They were important as agents of geographical change, and also displayed a mixture of continuity and change in response to economic forces, as they did in other contexts. An understanding of the importance of this group enhances any appreciation of the economic and social geography of rural Lowland Scotland. In combination with the other studies cited, this research also adds to the picture of the importance of small scale production and producers in a variety of contexts. Lastly, it leads to a greater understanding of the life and experience of the individuals that composed the population of rural Scotland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1) Manuscript sources

Census enumerators' books, S.R.O., 1851 and 1861.

Concluded Sequestration Processes brought under the 1856 Bankruptcy (Scotland) Act, S.R.O., CS318/9.

Country Life Archive, N.M.A.S.

Lynedoch MSS, N.L.S.

Registrar General's marriage certificates, S.R.O., 1860-70.

Registry of Friendly Societies, S.R.O., FS.

Royal Commission on Religious Instruction (Scotland). 1835. S.R.O., HH37.

2) British Parliamentary Papers

IV, 1812-1813. *Report to the Select Committee on the Petitions relating to the Duty on Leather*.

VII, 1824. *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee on the Hides and Skins Bill*.

V, 1833. *Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture*.

XX, 1833. *First Report on the Employment of Children in Factories*.

XXI, 1833. *Second Report on the Employment of Children in Factories*.

X, 1834. *Report from the Select Committee on the Handloom Weavers' Petitions*. p. 136.

VIII(2), 1836. *Third Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Agriculture*.

V, 1838. *Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture*.

X, 1841. *Report of the Commissioners on the Condition of the Hand Loom Weavers*.

XV, 1843. *Children's Employment Commission. Second Report of the Commissioners. Report of Robert Hugh Franks on the East of Scotland*.

XXII, 1844. *Poor Law Enquiry (Scotland)*.

XXIII(IV), 1844. *Poor Law Enquiry (Scotland)*.

LXXXVIII(2), 1852-53. *Census*.

LXIX, 1854. *Report on the Arrestment of Wages, the Effect of Abolishing Imprisonment for Small Debts, and the Practice of Truck in Scotland*.

XI, 1857-8. *Report from the Select Committee on Bleaching and Dyeing Works*.

XIII, 1870. *Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture (1867)*. *Fourth Report of the Commissioners*.

XXXVII(I), 1893. *Royal Commission on Labour. The Employment of Women. Report of the Conditions of Work in Scotland*.

CVIII, 1893. *Census*.

XXXVI, 1893-94. *Royal Commission on Labour. The Agricultural Labourer. Report by Mr. G.R. Gillespie on the Arable Districts of Forfarshire and East Perthshire*.

XXXVI, 1893-94. *Royal Commission on Labour. The Agricultural Labourer. Indexes to the Reports*.

LXXXI, 1894. Pt. I, Appendice V. *Trade. Strikes and Lockouts. Report by the Chief Labour Correspondent on the Strikes and Lock-Outs of 1892*.

LXXXII, 1900. *Report by Mr. Wilson Fox on the Wages and Earnings of Agricultural Labourers in the United Kingdom*.

CVIII, 1904. *Census*.

3) Newspapers

Perthshire Advertiser and Strathmore Journal.

Perthshire Constitutional and Journal.

Perthshire Courier and General Advertiser.

4) Contemporary surveys, novels etc.

Alexander, W. 1871 (second edition) *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk*. Robert Walker and Lewis Smith, Aberdeen.

Alexander, W. 1882 (reprint) "Couper Sandy" in *Sketches of Life Among My Ain Folk*. David Douglas, Edinburgh.

Headrick, J. 1813 *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Angus, or Forfarshire*. Neil & Co., Edinburgh.

Inglis, J. 1894 *Oor Ain Folk*. David Douglas, Edinburgh.

Leslie's Directory for Perth and Perthshire. D. Leslie, Perth. 1890, 1895, 1900.

Municipal Corporations (Scotland). Local Reports. 1835 H.M.S.O., London. Volumes I, II, III.

New Statistical Account of Scotland. 1845. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh. Volumes V and X.

Old Statistical Account of Scotland. 1791-99. E.P. Publishing Ltd., Wakefield (reprint). Volumes XI, XII and XIII.

Penny, G. 1836 *Traditions of Perth*. Messrs. Dewar, Sidey, Morison, Peat and Drummond, Perth.

Robertson, J. 1799 *General View of the Agriculture in the County of Perth*. Board of Agriculture, Perth.

Slater's Commercial Directory and Topography of Scotland. Isaac Slater, Manchester and London. 1860.

Taylor, D.B. 1979 (ed.) *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland. The Counties of Perth and Kinross*. Culross the Printers, Coupar Angus.

5) Books and articles

Adams, I.H. 1980 "The agents of agricultural change" in Parry, M.L. and Slater, T.R. (eds.) *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*. Croon Helm, London. pp. 155-76.

Alexander, S. 1982 "Women's work in nineteenth century London: a study of the years 1820-50" in Whitelegg, E. et al *The Changing Experience of Women*. Martin Robertson and the Open University Press, Oxford. pp. 30-43.

Anderson, M. 1971 *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Anderson, M. 1972 "Standard tabulation procedures for the census enumerator's books, 1851-1891" in Wrigley, E.A. (ed.) *Nineteenth Century Society. Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. pp. 57-62.

Angus Railway Group 1983 *Steam Album. Volume 3. Perthshire*. Angus Railway Group, Yorkshire.

Anon. n.d. *A chronology of newspaper development in Perthshire*. Local History Room, Sandeman Public Library, Perth.

Anon. 1989 "Guidelines for the use of non-sexist language" *Area*, 21(2).

Barron, D. G. (ed.) 1892 *The Court Book of the Barony of Urie in Kincardineshire, 1604-1747*. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.

Behagg, C. 1984 "Masters and manufacturers: social values and the smaller unit of production in Birmingham, 1800-50" in Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.G. (eds.) *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Methuen & Co Ltd., London. pp. 137-154.

Bell, K.M. 1979 "Industry" in Taylor, D.B. (ed.) *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland. The Counties of Perth and Kinross*. Culross the Printers, Coupar Angus. pp. 50-6.

Bechhofer, F. and Elliot, B. 1976 "Persistence and change: The petite bourgeoisie in industrial society" *European Journal of Sociology*, 17. pp. 74-99.

Blewett, M.H. 1983 "Work, gender and the artisan tradition in New England shoe-making" *Journal of Social History*, 17. pp. 21-49.

Blackbourn, D. 1984 "Between resignation and volatility: the German petite bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century" in Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.G.(eds.) *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. pp. 35-61.

Bremner, D. 1869 *The Industries of Scotland*. Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh.

British Labour Statistics. Historical Abstract. 1886-1968. H.M.S.O., London.

Caird, J.B. 1980 "The reshaped agricultural landscape" in Parry, M.L. and Slater, T.R. (eds.) *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*. Croon Helm, London. pp. 203-24.

Campbell, A.J. 1979 *The Lanarkshire Miners*. John Donald Publishers Ltd, Edinburgh.

Campbell, R.H. and Devine, T.M. 1990 "The Rural Experience" in Fraser, W.H. and Morris, R.J. (eds.) *People and Society in Scotland. Volume II, 1830 -1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 46-72.

Cameron, D.K. 1987 *The Ballad and the Plough*. Victor Gollancz Ltd., London.

Carter, I. 1979 *Farmlife in North-East Scotland, 1840-1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.

Catto, G.A. 1979 "Agriculture" in Taylor, D.B. (ed.) *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland. The Counties of Perth and Kinross*. Culross the Printers, Coupar Angus. pp. 37-45.

Chalklin, C.W. 1981 "Country Towns" in Mingay, G.E. (ed.) *The Victorian Countryside. Volume 1*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. pp. 275-87.

Chartres, J.A. 1981 "Country Tradesmen" in Mingay, G.E. (ed.) *The Victorian Countryside. Volume 1*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. pp. 300-13.

Chartres, J.A. and Turnbull, G.L. 1981 "Country Craftsmen" in Mingay, G.E. (ed.) *The Victorian Countryside. Volume 1*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. pp. 314-28.

Cooke, A.J. *A History of Redgorton Parish*. University of Dundee Department of Extra-Mural Education, Dundee.

Cowan, R.M.W. 1946 *The Newspaper in Scotland. A study of its first expansion, 1815-1860*. George Outram and Co. Ltd., Glasgow.

Crossick, G. 1984 "The petite bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Britain: the urban and liberal case" in Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.G.(eds.) *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. pp. 62-94.

Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G. (eds.) 1984 *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London.

Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G. 1984 "Shopkeepers, master artisans and the historian: the petite bourgeoisie in comparative focus" in Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G. (eds.) *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. pp. 3-34.

Davidoff, L. and Hall, C. 1987 *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class. 1780-1850*. Hutchinson, London.

Dennis, R. 1987 "The lower middle class in Huddersfield in 1871" in Thrift, N. and Williams, P. (eds.) *Class and Space. The making of urban society*. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London. pp. 73-107.

Devine, T.M. 1978 "Social stability and agrarian change in the eastern lowlands of Scotland, 1810-1840" *Social History*, 3. pp. 331-46.

Devine, T.M. (ed.) 1984 *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.

Devine, T.M. 1984 "Introduction" in Devine, T.M. (ed.) *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 1-8.

Devine, T.M. 1984 "Women Workers, 1850-1914" in Devine, T.M. (ed.) *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 98-123.

Devine, T.M. 1989 "Social responses to agrarian 'improvement': the Highland and Lowland Clearances in Scotland" in Houston, R.A. and Whyte, I.D. (eds.) *Scottish Society, 1500-1800*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. pp. 148-63.

Donnachie, I. 1979 *A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.

Dunlop, J. (ed.) 1957 *Court Minutes of Balgair, 1706-1736*. Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh.

Durie, A.J. 1979 *The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.

Ehmer, J. 1984 "The artisan family in nineteenth - century Austria: embourgeoisement of the petite bourgeoisie?" in Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G. (eds.) *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. pp. 195-218.

- Farcy, J.-C. 1984 "Rural artisans in the Beauce during the nineteenth-century" in Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G. (eds.) *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. pp. 219-38.
- Faure, A. 1984 "The grocery trade in nineteenth-century Paris: a fragmented corporation" in Crossick, G. and Haupt, H.-G. (eds.) *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. pp. 155-74.
- Fenton, A. 1976 *Scottish Country Life*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.
- Flinn et al 1977 *Scottish Population History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Foster, J. 1974 *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution. Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns*. Weidenfield & Nicolson, London.
- Fraser, W.H. 1988 *Conflict and Class. Scottish Workers, 1700-1838*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.
- Fraser, W.H. and Morris, R.J. (eds.) 1990 *People and Society in Scotland. Volume II, 1830-1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.
- Gauldie, E. 1981 *The Scottish Country Miller 1700-1900*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.
- Gauldie, H. 1981 *The Quarries and the Feus. A History of Invergowrie*. Waterside Press, Dundee.
- Goudy, H. 1914 (4th edition) *A Treatise on the Law of Bankruptcy in Scotland*. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.
- Grant, W. and Murison, D.D. (eds.) 1971 *The Scottish National Dictionary*. Scottish National Dictionary Association, Edinburgh.
- Gray, R. 1976 *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Gray, M. 1984 "Farm Workers in North-East Scotland" in Devine, T.M. (ed.) *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 10-28.

Gray, M. 1988 "The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands" in Devine T.M. and Mitchison, R. (eds.) *People and Society in Scotland. Volume 1, 1760-1830*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 53-69.

Gray, M. 1988 "The processes of Agricultural Change in the North-East, 1790-1870" in Leneman, L. (ed.) *Perspectives in Scottish Social History*. Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen. pp. 125-40.

Gulvin, C. 1984 *The Scottish Hosiery and Knitwear Industry, 1680-1980*. John Donald Publishers Limited, Edinburgh.

Gunn, C.B. (ed.) 1905 *Records of the Baron Court of Stitchill, 1655-1807*. Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.

Hall, C. 1982 "The butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker: the shop and the family in the industrial revolution" in Whitelegg, E. (ed.) *The changing experience of women*. Martin Robertson and the Open University, Oxford. pp. 2-16.

Higgs, E. 1986 "Domestic service and household production" in John, A.V. (ed.) *Unequal opportunities. Women's employment in England, 1800-1918*. Basil Blackford Ltd., Oxford. pp. 75-96.

Higgs, E. 1987 "Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth Century Censuses" *History Workshop Journal*, XXIII. pp. 59-80.

Higgs, E. 1989 *Making Sense of the Census. The Manuscript Returns for England and Wales, 1801-1901*. H.M.S.O., London.

Holderness, B.A. 1976 "Credit in English Rural Society before the Nineteenth Century, with special reference to the period 1650-1720" *Agricultural History Review*, XXIV, pp. 97-109.

Holderness, B.A. 1981 "Agriculture and Industrialization in the Victorian Economy" in Mingay, G.E. (ed.) *The Victorian Countryside. Volume 1*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. pp. 179-99.

Hopkins, E. 1977 "The decline of the family work unit in Black Country nailing" *International Review of Social History*, 22. pp. 184-97.

Howatson, W. 1984 "Grain Harvesting and Harvesters" in Devine, T.M. (ed.) *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 124-42.

Hume, J.R. and Oglethorpe, M. 1986 "Engineering" in Langton, J. and Morris, R.J. (eds.) *Atlas of Industrialising Britain, 1780-1914*. Methuen and Co. Ltd., London. pp. 136-9.

Ignatieff, M. 1981 "Primitive accumulation revisited" in Samuel, R. (ed.) *People's History and Socialist Theory*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. pp. 130-5.

Knox, W. 1986 "Apprenticeship and De-Skilling in Britain, 1850-1914" *International Review of Social History*, XXXI. pp. 166-84.

Kyd, J.G. 1952 *Scottish Population Statistics*. Scottish Academic Press Ltd., Edinburgh.

Langton, J. and Morris, R.J. (eds.) 1986 *Atlas of Industrialising Britain, 1780-1914*. Methuen and Co. Ltd., London.

Lenman, B. 1977 *An Economic History of Modern Scotland*. B.T. Batsford Ltd., London.

Levitt, I. and Smout, T.C. 1979 *The State of the Scottish Working Class in 1843*. Scottish Academic Press Ltd., Edinburgh.

Lockhart, D.G. 1980 "The Planned Villages" in Parry, M.L. and Slater, T.R. (eds.) *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*. Croon Helm, London. pp. 249-70.

Lockhart, D.G. 1986 "Migration to planned villages in Scotland between 1725 and 1850" *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 102. pp. 165-80.

Littlejohn, J. 1963 *Westrigg: the Sociology of a Cheviot Parish*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Lythe, S.G.E. and Butt, J. 1975 *An Economic History of Scotland, 1100-1939*. Blackie, Glasgow and London.

MacKenzie, A. 1887 *Manual of the Law of Cessio*. Carswell and Company, Edinburgh.

Marwick, W.H. 1936 *Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland*. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.

- Marwick, W.H. 1967 *A short history of labour in Scotland*. W. and R. Chambers Ltd., Edinburgh and London.
- Massey, D. 1983 "Industrial Restructuring as Class Restructuring: Product Decentralisation and Local Uniqueness" *Regional Studies*, 17. pp. 73-89.
- McArthur, M.M. 1939 *Survey of Lochtayside, 1769*. University Press for the Scottish History Society, Edinburgh.
- McLintock, J. 1983 "A Guide to Scottish Sequestrations, 1839-1913" *Unpublished manuscript*, S.R.O.
- Medick, H. 1981 "The transition from feudalism to capitalism: renewal of the debate" in Samuel, R. (ed.) *Samuel, R. (ed.) People's History and Socialist Theory*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. pp. 120-30.
- Melville, L. 1935 *Errol: It's Legends, Lands and People*. Thomas Hunter and Sons Ltd., Perth.
- Melville, L. 1939 *The Fair Land of Gowrie*. William Culross and Son Ltd., Coupar Angus.
- Mendels, F. 1972 "Proto-industrialisation: the first phase of the industrialisation process" *Journal of Economic History*, 32. pp. 241-61.
- Millman, R.N. 1975 *The Making of the Scottish Landscape*. B.T. Batsford Ltd., London.
- Mills, D. and Pearce, C. 1989 "People and places in the Victorian Census. A review and bibliography of publications based substantially on the manuscript Census Enumerators' Books, 1841-1911" *Historical Geography Research Series*, 23.
- Mingay, G.E. 1977 *Rural Life in Victorian England*. William Heineman Ltd., London.
- Mingay, G.E. (ed.) 1981 *The Victorian Countryside. Volume 1*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Moncrieff, J.C. 1979 "Roads" in Taylor, D.B. (ed.) *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland. The Counties of Perth and Kinross*. Culross the Printers, Coupar Angus. pp. 68-78.
- Morgan, N. and Trainor, R. 1990 "The Dominant Classes" in Fraser, W.H. and Morris, R.J. (eds.) *People and Society in Scotland. Volume II, 1830 -1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 103-37.

Morgan, V. 1971 "Agricultural wage rates in late eighteenth century Scotland" *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, Vol. XXIV. pp. 181-201

Morris, J. 1986 "The characteristics of sweating: the late nineteenth century London and Leeds tailoring trade" in John, A.V. (ed.) *Unequal opportunities. Women's employment in England, 1800-1918*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. pp. 95-124.

Morris, R.J. 1989 "Edinburgh- From CTI to Wealth, Consumption and Welfare" *Craft*, 1. 9-11.

Moss, M.S. and Hume, J.R. 1983 "Business failure in Scotland, 1839-1913" *Business History*, XXV, pp. 3-10.

Mounfield, P.R. "Leather Footwear" in Langton, J. and Morris, R.J. (eds.) *Atlas of Industrialising Britain, 1780-1914*. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. pp. 124-6.

Murray, N. 1978 *The Scottish Handloom Weavers, 1790-1850. A Social History*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.

Newby, H. 1977 *The Deferential Worker*. Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Oracle Corporation 1987 *SQL*Forms Designer's Reference*. Oracle Corporation, Belmont CA.

Orr, A. 1984 "Farm servants and Farm Labour in the Forth Valley and South-East Lowlands" in Devine, T.M. (ed.) *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 29-54.

Osterud, N.G. 1986 "Gender divisions and organisation in the Leicester hosiery industry" in John, A.V. (ed.) *Unequal opportunities. Women's employment in England, 1800-1918*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. pp. 45-70.

Parry, M.L. and Slater, T.R. (eds.) 1980 *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*. Croon Helm, London.

Patterson, J.H. 1979 "Railways" in Taylor D.B. (ed.) *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland. The Counties of Perth and Kinross*. Culross the Printers, Coupar Angus. pp. 79-84.

Pahl, R.E. 1970 "A perspective on Urban Sociology" in Pahl, R.E. (ed.) *Readings in Urban Sociology*. Pergamon Press, Oxford. pp. 3-44.

Phillips, D. and Williams, A. 1984 *Rural Britain. A Social Geography*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Porteus, A. 1912 *The History of Crieff*. Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh and London.

Rankine, J (ed.) 1890 *Erskine's Principles of the Law of Scotland*. Bell and Bradfute, Edinburgh.

Reid, A.G. 1899 *The Annals of Auchterarder and Memorials of Strathearn*. David Phillips, Crieff.

Robb, J. 1861 *The Cottage, the Bothy and the Kitchen; Being an Enquiry into the Condition of Agricultural Labourers in Scotland*. Blackwood, Edinburgh.

Robertson, B.W. 1978 "The Scottish Farm Servant and his Union: from Encapsulation to Integration" in MacDougall, I. (ed.) *Essays in Scottish Labour History*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 90-114.

Rodger, R.G. 1985 "Business Failure in Scotland, 1839-1913" *Business History*, 27. pp. 75-99.

Rubenstein, W.D. 1986 "Wealth and the Wealthy" in Morris, R.J. and Langton, J. (eds.) *Atlas of Industrialising Britain, 1780-1914*. Methuen & Co., London. pp. 156-9.

Samuel, R. 1977 "The Workshop of the World: Steam Power and Hand Technology in mid-Victorian Britain" *History Workshop Journal*, 3. pp. 6-72.

Sanderson, M.H.B. 1982 *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.

Schofield, R.S. 1972 "Sampling in historical research" in Wrigley, E.A. (ed.) *Nineteenth Century Society. Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. pp. 32-45.

Scott, J. 1984 "Men and women in the Parisian garment trades: discussions of family and work in the 1830's and 1840's" in Thane, P., Crossick, G. and Floud, R. (eds.) *The power of the past. Essays for Eric Hobsbawm*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. pp. 67-94.

Shaw, G. 1982 "British Directories as Sources in Historical Geography" *Historical Geography Research Series*, 8.

Shaw, G. and Tipper, A. 1988 *British Directories: A Bibliography and Guide to Directories published in England and Wales (1850-1950) and Scotland (1773-1950)*. Leicester University Press, London.

Shaw, G. and Wild, M.T. "Retail patterns in the Victorian City" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, N.S. 4, pp. 278-91.

Shaw, J.P. 1980 "The New Rural Industries: Water, Power and Textiles" in Parry, M.L. and Slater, T.R. (eds.) *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*. Croon Helm, London. pp. 291-318.

Smith, D.C. 1906 "The Material Progness of Perth During the Last Century" in Mackenzie, A.M. (ed.) *Auld Perth*. Perth City and County Conservative Club, Perth.

Smout, T.C. 1969 *A History of the Scottish People*. Fontana/Collins, London.

Snell, K.D.M. 1987 *Annals of the Labouring Poor*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Somerville, M. (ed.) 1984 *The Diary of James and Alexander Noble*. Biggar Museun Trust, Biggar.

Southall, H.R. 1988 "Towards a geography of unionization: the spatial organization and distribution of early British trade unions" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, N.S. 13, pp. 466-83.

Sprott, G. 1984 "The Country Tradesman" in Devine, T. M. (ed.) *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland, 1770-1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 143-54.

Stevenson, D. 1985 (ed.) *Reminiscences of an Unlettered Man. Robert Barclay, 1850-1924*. Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen.

Struminger, L. 1977 "The artisan family: traditions and transition in nineteenth century Lyon" *Journal of Family History*, 2. pp. 211-22.

Third, B.M.W. 1955 "Changing landscape and social structure in the Scottish Lowlands as revealed by Eighteenth Century estate plans" *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 71. pp. 83-93.

Tillot, P.M. 1972 "Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses" in Wrigley, E.A. (ed.) *Nineteenth Century Society*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. pp. 120-56.

- Tilly, L.A. and Scott, J.W. 1978 *Work, women and family*. Rinehart and Wilson, New York.
- Treble, J.H. 1988 "The Standard of Living of the Working Class" in Devine, T.M. and Mitchison, R. (eds.) *People and Society in Scotland. Volume 1, 1760-1830*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 188-227.
- Treble, J.H. 1990 "The Occupied Male Labour Force" in Fraser, W.H. and Morris, R.J. (eds.) *People and Society in Scotland. Volume II, 1830 -1914*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 46-72.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu 1978 "Literature and geography: Implications for geographical research" in Ley, D. and Samuels, M. (eds.) *Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems*. Croon Helm, London. pp. 75-95.
- Turner, W.H.K. 1957 "The Textile Industry of Perth and District" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 23. pp. 123-40.
- Turner, W.H.K. 1966 "The Concentration of Jute and Heavy Linen Manufactures in East Central Scotland" *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 82. pp. 29-45.
- Urry, J. 1981 "Localities, regions and social class" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 5. pp. 455-74.
- Weir, R.B. 1986 "Brewing and distilling" in Langton, J. and Morris, R.J. (eds.) *Atlas of Industrialising Britain, 1780-1914*. Methuen and Co. Ltd., London. pp. 119-23.
- Whittington, G.W. 1974 "The Regionalism of Lewis Grassie Gibbon" *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 90. pp. 75-84.
- Whittington, G. 1983 "Agriculture and society in Lowland Scotland, 1750-1870" in Whittington, G. and Whyte, I.D. (eds.) *An Historical Geography of Scotland*. Academic Press, London. pp 141-164.
- Whittow, J.B. 1979 *Geology and Scenery in Scotland*. Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth.
- Whyte, I.D. 1979 *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh.

Whyte, I.D. 1983 "Early-Modern Scotland: Continuity and Change" in Whittington, G. and Whyte I.D. (eds.) *An Historical Geography of Scotland*. Academic Press, London. pp. 119-40.

Whyte, I.D. and Whyte, K.A. 1984 "Continuity and Change in a Seventeenth-Century Scottish Farming Community" *Agricultural History Review*, XXXII. pp. 159-69.

Whyte, I.D. and Whyte, K.A. 1986 "Patterns of migration of apprentices into Aberdeen and Inverness during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 102, pp. 81-92.

Whyte, I.D. and Whyte, K.A. 1989 "Debt and Credit, Poverty and Prosperity in a Seventeenth-Century Scottish Rural Community" in Mitchison, R. and Roebuck, P. (eds.) *Economy and Society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500-1939*. John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh. pp. 70-80.

Wild, M.T. and Shaw, G. 1975 "Population distribution and retail provision: The case of the Halifax-Calder Valley area of West Yorkshire during the second half of the nineteenth century" *Journal of Historical Geography*, 1. pp. 193-210.

Withers, C.W.J. 1984 "The image of the land: Scotland's geography through her languages and literature" *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 100. pp. 81-95.

Withers, C.W.J. 1988 "Destitution and migration: labour mobility and relief from famine in Highland Scotland, 1836-1850" *Journal of Historical Geography*, 14(2). pp. 128-50.

Wright, E.O. 1987 *Classes*. Verso, London.

Wrigley, E.A. (ed.) 1972 *Nineteenth Century Society. Essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Young, C. 1989 "Computer Assisted Mapping of the Credit Fields of Nineteenth Century Rural Tradesmen in Scotland" *History and Computing*, 1(2). pp. 105-11.

Young, C. 1989 "Historical applications of GIMMS and GEOLINK" *GIMMS Newsletter*, 9. pp. 5-6.

Young, C. and Tidswell, D.P. 1990 "Applying GIMMS and GEOLINK to analysis in historical geography" in Harrington, V.P. (ed.) *Proceedings, GIMMS User Conference 1990*. University College, Dublin. pp. 34-47.

6) Theses

Ewan, L.A. 1988 "Debt and Credit in Early Modern Scotland: The Grandtully Estates 1650-1765" *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, University of Edinburgh.

Goldie, M.E. 1971 "Standard of living of the Scottish Farm Labourer in Selected Areas at the time of the first two Statistical Accounts, 1790-1845" *Unpublished MSc. Thesis*, University of Edinburgh.

Heaton, T. 1981 "Coal Black-Smith: A study of agricultural smithing in Kippen based on the recollections of Andrew Rennie" *Unpublished Undergraduate Dissertation*, University of Stirling.

Knox, E. 1986 "Between Capital and Labour. The Petite Bourgeoisie in Victorian Edinburgh" *Unpublished PhD Thesis*, University of Edinburgh.

Appendix I

An assessment of Scottish Sequestrations as a source in historical analysis

The legal records of sequestration (a form of bankruptcy) in Scotland survive from 1795 to 1914. The series of records used in the present analysis is known as the *Concluded Sequestration Processes brought under the 1856 Bankruptcy (Scotland) Act*.¹ This series was used because it covers the period from 1856 to 1914, which was the focus of much of this study. Given that the cases in this record are of firms that went bankrupt and ended up in this record it is important to consider what type of firms the source provides information about. Previous studies have made some attempt at considering the possible biases within the record,² but these have failed to actually assess the source and confirm their conclusions by using the information revealed within it. The existence of legal alternatives to sequestration in cases of bankruptcy give rise to the possibility that sequestration only dealt with a certain type of firm, and that the cases in the record should not be taken as representative of

¹ These records are held in the West Register House of the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, as series CS318 and CS319.

² Moss, M.S. and Hume, J.R. 1983 "Business Failure in Scotland, 1839-1913" *Business History*, 25, pp. 3-10; Rodger, R.G. 1985 "Business Failure in Scotland, 1839-1913" *Business History*, 27, pp. 75-99.

all craft firms. This point can be assessed with reference to a consideration of the legal alternatives to sequestration, how the operation of the legal process may have distorted the record, and the economic position of the firms as determined from the records themselves.³ An assessment is also made of the validity of using sequestrations for examining the role of women in business.

Of the total population of craft firms, an unknown percentage ran into financial difficulties for various reasons (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4), and were then insolvent. A contemporary definition of insolvency stated that it

"may mean either inability to pay a particular debt or a number of debts at the time when it or they become payable; or inability to pay debts in full."⁴

Such a situation could have applied to a firm which was still operating. Throughout the thirteen year life span of the firm of George McGregor, an innkeeper in New Rattray who failed in 1873, he considered that

"I was never able to pay my creditors if they all came rushing in on me in a body."⁵

³ I would like to acknowledge the help of Dr. Michael Moss of Glasgow University, and Dr. John McLintock of West Register House, in the preparation of this section.

⁴ Rankine, J. (ed.) 1895 *Erskine's Principles of the Law of Scotland*. Bell & Bradfute, Edinburgh. p. 567.

⁵ S.R.O., CS318/18/208.

Thus it was probably not unusual for firms to be insolvent but still to be trading as normal, and this was perhaps true of a certain life cycle stage of a business. Of the total population of insolvent firms, an unknown proportion became bankrupt. Bankruptcy has been defined as

"either a generic term, which popularly involves insolvency and bankruptcy proper; or notour [public] bankruptcy...or the position of one whose property has been transferred from him to a third party for the benefit of his creditors."⁶

Bankruptcy thus involves not only insolvency but the actual position of being pressed to pay a debt, and of being unable to fulfil this obligation. This state can then be expressed as notour bankruptcy, which occurs when

"the inability to fulfill obligations is made known to the public by steps of legal diligence having been taken against [the bankrupt] for the recovery of debts."⁷

In the nineteenth century this could then have proceeded to a variety of legal processes to wind up the firm, and pay creditors i.e. bankruptcy could then become a legal state, and one which has led to the existence of legal records which historians can make use of today.

The legal process of sequestration determined the nature of the record available to historians today. It

⁶ Rankine, *op cit*, p. 567.

⁷ MacKenzie, A. 1887 *Manual of the Law of Cessio*. Carswell and Company, Edinburgh. p. 3.

implied

"the setting apart of the bankrupt's estate in the hands of a trustee for behoof of the competing creditors."⁸

The process resulted in the production of a sederunt book, which contains all the details of the case, and which was preserved by deposition with the Accountant in Bankruptcy.⁹ The bankrupt was required by law to give to the trustee his business books, or to assist the trustee as far as possible in obtaining a full account of his situation. Thus information from business account books is often preserved, providing information on assets (in the form of book debts, stock in trade, plant etc.), and liabilities. Creditors were required to register any debts due to them, and these are also preserved in the sequestration record. This often gives a table of the name, occupation, and location of the creditor, as well as the value of the liability. The trustee was also empowered by law to interrogate the bankrupt, as well as his wife, family, employees and servants. In most cases a transcript of the interrogation is given, and though this often involves answers to standard questions regarding the sequestration process, a wide ranging amount of infor-

⁸ Goudy, *op cit*, p. 113.

⁹ McLintock, J. 1983 "A Guide to Scottish Sequestrations, 1839-1913" *Unpublished manuscript*, S.R.O. p. 3.

mation is provided regarding the origins of the firm, previous residences and occupations, the running of the firm, earnings and wages, and the involvement of family members in production.

However, the variety of alternative legal ways of dealing with bankrupt estates (in the legal not the geographical sense) must be addressed. A certain proportion of firms would have settled their liabilities through extra-judicial processes which would not have left legal records. These usually took the form of a voluntary trust for creditors, either a unilateral trust deed, or a mutual contract consisting of a trust deed on the side of the debtor and accession on the side of the creditors.¹⁰ In the case of very small estates some debt recovery must have occurred in the Sheriff Court Small Debt Court. Those firms which had adopted limited liability, which was widespread after 1880, would have been wound up under the process of liquidation or receivership.¹¹ Indeed, public companies registered under the Companies Acts could not be sequestrated.¹²

Prior to the existance of limited liability, and still significant after its introduction, were the e/

¹⁰ Goudy, H. 1914 (4th edition) *A Treatise on the Law of Bankruptcy in Scotland*. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. p. 472.

¹¹ Moss and Hume, *op cit*, pp. 3-4.

¹² Goudy, *op cit*, p. 114.

processes of Cessio Bonorum (or cessio after 1876) and sequestration. Prior to 1880 debt was a criminal offence punishable by imprisonment. Cessio and sequestration were important because they offered a means of protection against imprisonment through the debtor surrendering his estate to his creditors.¹³ However, under cessio bonorum the bankrupt obtained no discharge from his liabilities, and any property gained subsequently could be claimed to pay creditors.¹⁴ Therefore sequestration was introduced by the Bankruptcy Act of 1772, which ensured an equitable distribution of the estate of the bankrupt, and provided for the discharge of the bankrupt from his liabilities. Subsequent Acts of 1814, 1839 and 1856 caused changes in this legal process and extended its applicability. In parallel, Cessio Bonorum was remodelled in 1836, largely superceded by the Bankruptcy Act of 1856, but was amended in 1876, and the 1881 Bankruptcy and Cessio Act provided for the discharge of the bankrupt under the process of cessio.¹⁵

However, given the complexity of the different legal and extra-judicial opportunities for dealing with bankruptcy, and the unknown proportions of insolvent and bankrupt firms (in the legal sense), it is import-

¹³ McLintock, *op cit*, p. 1.

¹⁴ MacKenzie, *op cit*, p. 1.

¹⁵ McLintock, *op cit*, pp. 1-3.

ant to assess whether the process dealt with a particular set of firms, which would bias the record, and restrict the applicability of conclusions drawn from any analysis. In this context it is possible to examine the operations and definitions of the legal process itself. Prior to 1839 sequestration could only be applied to merchants, traders and manufacturers. The 1839 Act extended the process to the estates of all deceased debtors. After 1856 sequestration became applicable to "all classes of debtors", with the exception of public limited companies registered under the Companies Acts of 1862 and 1867, and railway companies.¹⁶

Thus in terms of the occupations of individuals whose estates could be sequestrated there was after 1856 no real legislative control operating which would introduce a bias to the record. However, the actual operation of sequestration and cessio began to influence the distribution of cases within the records. Sequestration was a more complicated, time consuming and "more expensive"¹⁷ process than Cessio Bonorum or cessio. In some cases sequestration had obviously been used as a last resort, with previous attempts having been made to arrange a composition, trust deed or settlement under cessio. If unacceptable to one or more

¹⁶Goudy, *op cit*, p. 114; McLintock, *op cit*, p. 2.

¹⁷MacKenzie, *op cit*, p. 11.

creditors trust deeds could be superseded by cessio or sequestration if petition was made within sixty days of notour bankruptcy, and cessio cases could be passed into the sequestration courts. The 1839 Act attempted to make the process more efficient, notably by increasing the role of the Sheriff Court and lessening that of the Court of Session, but sequestration remained the dominant process until the Debtors Act of 1880 abolished imprisonment for civil debt, and the Bankruptcy and Cessio Act of 1881 allowed discharge of the bankrupt under cessio. At this point cessio became

"applicable to the estates of small insolvent debtors, having for its main object a cheap and speedy realization and distribution of the debtor's assets."¹⁸

Thus after 1880/1 cessio became a more frequently used alternative for small estates. Not until the Bankruptcy Act of 1913 did sequestration provide for the administration of small estates, those with assets of less than £300.¹⁹ What actually constituted a 'small' estate was poorly defined in the legislation. The 1839 Act reduced the value of the debt of which creditors could petition making sequestration more widely available.²⁰ However, petitions for sequestration could only be made at the instance of one or more creditors whose debt(s) totalled at least £50.²¹ Ces-

¹⁸ MacKenzie, *op cit*, p. 1; Rankine, *op cit*, p. 567.

¹⁹ Goudy, *op cit*, p. 447.

²⁰ McLintock, *op cit*, p. 2.

²¹ Goudy, *op cit*, p. 120.

sio Bonorum dealt with estates which would yield less than £100 of free funds for division amongst creditors after payment of preferable debts and expences, suggesting that larger estates would have been dealt with by sequestration even prior to 1880.²² In effect, it is likely that in the first stages of bankruptcy the bankrupt was unaware of his actual financial position, particularly given the poor accountancy of many sequestered firms (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4), and sequestration may have been automatically applied for in such circumstances. Certainly, the Sheriff had the power, after considering the circumstances of the case, to transfer proceedings under cessio to sequestration where liabilities exceeded £200.²³

Thus throughout the nineteenth century the actual applicability of sequestration and cessio was poorly defined in the legislation, and the various monetary limits employed were vague. However, the operation of the processes would seem to imply that, particularly after 1880, cessio dealt with smaller estates. Very small debts were probably settled in the Small Debt Court, while larger firms were probably dealt with by receivership. In addition, a certain proportion of bankrupt firms were wound up by private composition or trust deed. These conclusions would seem to suggest

²² Rodger, *op cit*, p. 90.

²³ MacKenzie, *op cit*, p. 21.

that firms in sequestration cases would represent a strata lying somewhere between small and large scale firms, though probably with some overlap with the very smallest firms and the more established concerns. This conclusion can be investigated with reference to the sequestrations themselves.

A measure of the size of the firms in the sequestration record in terms of their financial characteristics can be gained by examining their assets and liabilities. Such business data preserved within sequestration cases also requires assessment. The question of falsification of business records was a possibility. However, it was a criminal offence punishable by two years imprisonment for the bankrupt not to truly declare his or her state of affairs, not to deliver up all relevant business material, and to give fictitious accounts of losses or expences. During the sequestration of one cattle dealer the Trustee attempted to bring a criminal prosecution against the bankrupt, partly on the grounds that "he has given no satisfactory account of the great deficiency."²⁴ In the case of the liabilities it was also a criminal offence for a creditor to make a false claim, and any claim had to be backed up by vouchers and a sworn oath as to its validity.²⁵ In addition, the Trustee of the estate was

²⁴ S.R.O., CS318/6/231.

²⁵ Goudy, *op cit*, p. 610-3.

invested with considerable legal powers to investigate the circumstances of the bankrupt, and creditors were unlikely to accept a composition that they felt was based on false information. In some cases the state of insolvency of the firm probably influenced the behaviour of the businessman, and this would have distorted the record to some extent.

David Jack, a baker and grocer in Blairgowrie whose business failed in 1888, had been misleading merchants to gain more trade credit

"I was requiring accomodation from these merchants at this time, and I showed them the balance sheet to induce them to give me accomodation. I got accomodation from them...My liabilities were not stated in the balance sheet which I submitted them...I did not explain to them that that was an incorrect statement."²⁶

In the case of the cattle dealer mentioned above, in the opinion of the Accountant in Bankruptcy, the dealer

"traded recklessly in continuing to carry on business for years when he was, according to his own view, quite insolvent."

The Trustee in the case went so far as to state that

"The Bankrupt's conduct...appears to the Creditors to be so gross that I have been directed to take steps, with the view of a criminal prosecution...and certainly the system of fraudulent trading carried on generally by the business community ought, if possible, to be checked by a public example."²⁷

Robert Littlejohn of the drapers firm of Littlejohn and Marr had been showing the bank and his creditors a

²⁶ S.R.O., CS318/34/174.

²⁷ S.R.O., CS318/6/231.

false balance sheet to extend his repayments. He stated

"I did not communicate my embarrassment to any creditor because then and for long afterwards I was enabled by means of renewals of bills to meet my obligations...I led the bank to believe from my statement that I was solvent."

Even upon the second recall of bills

"I made no communication of my circumstances to my creditors except by asking time on the plea of ill-health."²⁸

In cases where the bankrupt was deceased or had absconded it was often difficult to acquire the relevant information, but for the most part it is likely that the business material recorded was representative of the running of the firm.

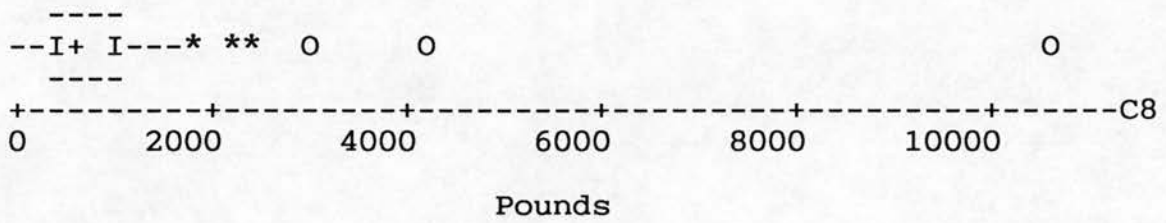
Figure I.1 illustrates the range of liabilities that craft firms in the sequestration sample incurred while in business. These liabilities mainly consisted of trade credit from merchants or manufacturers, but private loans, bank loans and credit notes were also found. Thus they represent some indication of the financial level that these firms were operating on. Throughout the period the mean of the data set is between £700 and £800, and for the most part these firms had liabilities of between £400 and £1500. There were two cases of liabilities greater than £3000, and one case of greater than £10000. This would suggest that there were some fairly substantial firms operating

²⁸ S.R.O., CS318/25/307.

Figure I.1

Liabilities of craft firms in Lowland
Perthshire, 1856-1911

1856-1911



+ = median */O = outlying values I = quartiles

Source: S.R.O., CS318/9.

in this area, but most of the sequestration cases were of a small to medium scale. To give some idea of what 'small to medium' would mean it is possible to present some comparative material. John McRostie, a flesher and cattle dealer in Crieff, took over his family's business in 1853 which his mother had run since her husband's death in 1848. He became bankrupt in 1857, with liabilities of over £3000, and assets in the form of book debts of c.£1500.²⁹ However, in common with other businessmen he managed to continue in business subsequent to his discharge, as the death of John McRostie, flesher and cattle dealer in Crieff was reported by the *Perthshire Courier* in 1861, McRostie having died as a result of a kick from a horse. His obituary noted that

"deceased was highly respected, and his sudden demise has cast a shade of gloom over not only his more intimate friends and relations, but the public at large."³⁰

Thus McRostie seemed to have been running a business which was considered sizeable by contemporaries, and was a respected member of the business and the local communities, which suggests that liabilities of £3000 would have been considered substantial. Amid a general trade slump and multiple failure in Blairgowrie in 1870 it was stated

"some sensation has been caused owing to a number of failures taking place, in some cases where they were not expected. The most important of these is

²⁹ S.R.O., CS318/1/75.

³⁰ *Courier*, December 10, 1861.

that of Messrs. James Dick and Sons, grocers and clothiers, Leslie Street. This firm carried on business on an extensive scale, and their liabilities are stated to be considerably over £4000."³¹

Thus it is possible to describe the firms that are dealt with in the sequestration record as being of small to medium scale in terms of their economic characteristics. A firm running on a scale to incur liabilities of £3000-4000, such as that of Messrs. Dick and Sons, could be considered to be large scale in this context. By comparison, the shoemaking firms with which one tanner was doing business could certainly be considered small scale, as he stated

"I was in the habit of retailing a great deal to small shoemakers, some [of whom] could not buy more than as much leather for a pair of shoes at once."³²

Figure I.2 shows the assets of the firms in the sample. The assets were composed of stock in trade and property, but mainly of book debts i.e. money owed by customers who held an account with the business. Throughout the period the mean value of assets was between £200 and £250, and generally ranged between £100 and £550. Some extreme cases were found of around £1500, and one case of c.£9000, again suggesting that large scale operations were not ending up in sequestration as much as small to medium ones, though probably

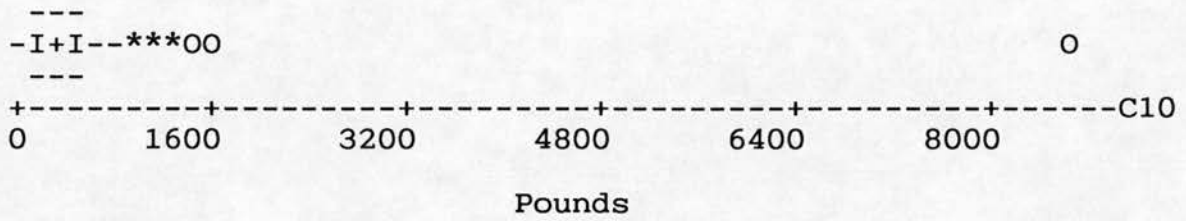
³¹ *Courier*, March 8, 1870.

³² P.P., VII, 1824. *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee on the Hides and Skins Bill*. p. 105.

Figure I.2

Assets of craft firms in Lowland
Perthshire, 1856-1911

1856-1911



+ = median */O = outlying values I = quartiles

Source: S.R.O., CS318/9.

there were fewer large scale concerns to start with.

What are the implications of the fact that the sequestrations contain information which is mostly relating to those firms of middling size in capital terms? At first it may seem to make the use of the source fairly limited. However, if it was possible to produce a frequency distribution curve of firm sizes (based on capital or labour) then it is likely it would look like a normal distribution curve skewed towards the smaller end of the scale (since firm size was small in this area), with fewer very large or very small firms. Thus a slice through the middle of this curve would in fact contain a large number of cases. The group of firms found in the sequestrations therefore seems likely to represent a *numerically* superior group. Thus it is possible to argue that the source contains information pertaining to an important group, and not just in terms of numbers. This middle group of firms was likely to have been important in terms of the local economy, and in local capital formation. It is obvious from the source itself that there is a complex suite of firms represented.

Comparative liabilities and assets for different sectors, but from the same source, are shown in Figure I.3. For both the farming and the commercial sectors both the mean liabilities and assets were higher than for the craft sector. This suggests that on average

Figure I.3

Comparative liabilities and assets for businesses in
Lowland Perthshire, 1859-1913

Business	Mean liabilities	n	Mean assets	n
Farmer	£1595	26	£835	27
Merchant/retailer	£1305 ¹	32	£415	32

Source: S.R.O., CS318 and CS319.

¹Excludes one firm with liabilities of £25299.

these types of concerns required more capital to run, though there was overlap between the values for different sectors, particularly between the craft and retailing sectors. In addition, it confirms the range of firm size that occurs in the sequestrations.

Another important point to consider when assessing the representativeness of this source is whether bankruptcy was age specific, and thus whether sequestration cases represent only firms at a certain stage. The persistence rates of firms in sequestration is considered in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4). This analysis suggests that nearly two thirds (sixty two percent) of firms that ended up in sequestration had a life span of less than or equal to nine years, with most cases failing within four years of starting up (thirty six percent). Greater than one third (thirty eight percent) existed for ten or more years. Thus while sequestration cases have a bias towards firms which had been established for less than ten years, the source does offer information pertaining to a wider range of firms. Indeed, the overall range of business length was between one year and fifty years.³³ What is more difficult to assess is whether firms appearing in this source were failing at a particular stage in the development of the business. For example, businesses may typically have failed when engaged in expansion. In

³³ S.R.O., CS318 and CS319.

addition, they probably only became involved in sequestration when they were large enough in capital terms to make it worthwhile. In both these cases this would not have been at the same time *in terms of years* for each firm, but may have represented a common stage in the firms' development.

Taking sequestrations as a whole it is necessary to try and assess how representative the source is in terms of the overall industrial structure. As has been noted, the total population of businesses is impossible to determine, and it has been shown to be necessary to reject the printed census tables as a surrogate. It would perhaps have been possible to try and compare the occurrence of types of firms in the sequestrations to those types of firms which appeared to be consistently enumerated in the census and the trade directory, but this then leaves no way of expressing the number of firms in the 'reliable' sectors as a proportion of total businesses. Other research has suggested that sequestration would have understated the failure of many small building businesses, and notes that the adoption of limited liability, and subsequent receivership of any bankrupt firms, would have varied by sector.³⁴ The main conclusion that can be drawn is that attempts to use sequestrations in aggregate form as

³⁴ Rodger, *op cit*, pp. 83, 85.

being representative of the overall business community would be misleading.³⁵ Certain occupational groups may be over or under represented compared to the overall distribution of firms. In addition, though it is tempting to point to similarities between the greater proportions of certain occupations in sequestration and their low persistence rates (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4), it is important to note that sequestration as a record is not a good measure of rates of insolvency or bankruptcy. To say that sectors where there was less use or accumulation of capital had a higher rate of business failure because they appear more often in sequestration is a circular argument as it is argued above that sequestrations typically represented this level of firms anyway. The reason why there is in some cases a disproportionate representation of such firms is not necessarily due to a higher rate of failure, but due to the action of the legal process determining the nature of the record.

These two points help explain another problem as regards the representativeness of sequestrations of the business community as a whole, namely the rate of occurrence of firms run by women. Under the Bankruptcy Act of 1772 it was possible for women to apply for sequestration. After the 1856 this was possible for all women and not just those engaged in trade. Thus under

³⁵ See also Rodger, *op cit*, p. 83.

the law of bankruptcy there was theoretically no reason why firms run by women should have been under-represented in the sequestrations, though at no point in time could married women be imprisoned for debt, thus perhaps negating the need for the protection of sequestration in these cases.³⁶

Figure I.4 gives the percentage of firms run by women as revealed by three sources. The 1891 census suggests that this was around twenty nine percent, while trade directories record seven percent of all businesses being run by women. Even relative to these measures it is obvious that the sequestration record has a notably disproportionately low representation of firms run by women (two percent). In addition it would appear that the trade directory was also under-enumerating these firms. The census suggests that firms run by women were concentrated into certain sectors, notably hotel/innkeeping, food processing and certain of the clothing trades (milliner, dress/staymaker, shirtmaker, seamstress and hosier but not tailor or shoemaker). Retailing also exhibited a concentration of such firms, but is not considered here. Of these categories hotel/innkeeping is the only one represented consistently in sequestrations, and it is only here that women running businesses were found in any number.

³⁶ Rankine, *op cit*, p. 567.

Figure I.4

Percentage of businesses run by women in Perthshire¹
in 1890 from three sources

<u>Source</u>	<u>Total firms</u>	<u>Number run by women</u>	<u>Percentage run by women</u>
1891 census	2249	658	29
Trade directory	1291	95	7
Sequestrations index	263	6	2

Source: P.P., 1893, CVIII, pp. 582-5 and 793-6; *Leslie's Directory for Perth and Perthshire*; Sequestrations index, S.R.O.

¹Excludes Perth City.

In reality, the enumeration of women owning businesses depended upon issues of social acceptance and the expectations of the business community, and the involvement of businesswomen in sequestration was complicated by common law. As was the case with the census there must have been a strong ideological pressure operating regarding the respectability of women running businesses, or simply working, which affected enumeration. The tension is obvious in the words of Thomas Graham, a baker and grocer when he stated

"my daughter was in the way of settling with the merchants and giving them orders for goods...My creditors never complained of my daughter not being a proper person for giving orders."³⁷

Following a family feud between Chrichton Brothers and J. & J. Chrichton (all of whom were brothers), traction engine owners and sawmillers, John and James Chrichton ended up in financial difficulties. Their sister Mary Ann then took over the business, either legitimately or to protect John and James from their creditors, and continued to employ the brothers. However, as John stated

"we allowed our name [J. & J. Chrichton] to be used to get the benefit of steady employment. We had to do that or go somewhere else."³⁸

It is obvious that the established (male) name was considered important to continue regular business contacts. One bankrupt farmer had been doing business with

³⁷ S.R.O., CS318/11/97.

³⁸ S.R.O., CS318/47/67, CS318/47/68.

"Mrs. Anne Keegan or McKearney wife of John McKearney, Perth, and carrying on business for her own behoof under the name of Michael Keegan, Strathearn Manure Works, Crieff."³⁹

An important legal point that may have complicated matters was that though under the law of sequestration a married woman who was a trader in her own right could be sequestered, under contemporary common law

"a wife cannot be completely convened without also calling her husband as her legal administrator."⁴⁰

Thus in the case of John Cadzow, a printer and newspaper publisher in Crieff, his mother became the concurring creditor in petitioning for his sequestration, for a debt of £119.7d.

"she having the consent and concurrence of her said husband as her curator and Administrator-in-law."⁴¹

How far the sequestration record is complicated by the representation of a bankrupt married woman by her husband is not known, but was probably rare. However, the interaction between the law of bankruptcy and common law regarding married women was an important one, and is returned to below.

Another important reason underlying the under-enumeration of businesses run by women in the sequestrations, and also in the trade directory, lies in the organisation of production in the women's clothing trades, which were the largest sectors in this area

³⁹ S.R.O., CS318/41/378.

⁴⁰ MacKenzie, *op cit*, p. 11.

⁴¹ S.R.O., CS318/38/59.

where women were enumerated in the census as apparently running businesses. A typical feature of the women's clothing trades in Scotland in the 1890s was the high rate of women working on their own account. Particularly in dressmaking, once girls had gained enough skill to aspire to be first or second 'hands' they often found that

"there were few such positions in the trade, so girls often set up on their own account."⁴²

The census suggests that this was also true of Lowland Perthshire (see Figure I.5) with large numbers of women recorded as working on their own account. Part of the apparent discrepancy between the numbers of women apparently running firms as enumerated by the census and by trade directories can be explained by this circumstance. It seems likely, with the high degree of subcontracting, sweating and home working in these trades⁴³ that many of those women returning themselves as 'on own account' in the census were probably little more than marginal outworkers, rather than actually running a business, and this is an important measure of what these census tables were actually recording. Thus the census probably overstates the numbers of businesses in these sectors. Nevertheless, the large number of

⁴² P.P., XXXVII(I), 1893. *Royal Commission on Labour. The Employment of Women. Report of the Conditions of Work in Scotland.* p. 292.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-71, 277, 292.

Figure I.5

Women as 'employers' and 'on own account' in the clothing trades in Lowland Perthshire, 1891

<u>Trade</u>	<u>'employer'</u>	<u>'on own account'</u>
Milliner, dressmaker, staymaker	39	472
Shirtmaker, seamstress	0	52
Hosier	0	10
All clothing trades	41	537

Source: P.P., CVIII, 1893. pp. 582-5 and 793-6.

women working on their own account probably helps to explain the relatively low enumeration of businesses run by women in the trade directories, because directory coverage became more selective as the total number of firms increased. In addition, a trade directory would have been less likely to enumerate a women home worker, perhaps part time, as a business owner. Dress-making and similar firms had an average persistence rate (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4) which was the lowest for the clothing trades. This suggests that these were probably labour rather than capital intensive firms and therefore do not occur often in the sequestration record, as any bankruptcies would have been dealt with by alternative legal processes (probably cessio). In addition, given that many of these workers were probably working at home on an informal and seasonal basis it is perhaps less likely that they would become bankrupt, but would turn to alternative occupations when demand was slack.

The argument presented above is not meant to establish that all firms run by women were small, under-capitalised, marginal concerns. Rather it argues that the discrepancy in the enumeration of women as business owners in the different records is due to a number of factors, particularly in this area due to the structure of the clothing trades which were the most numerically important. The census probably over-enum-

erated in these cases, while the directory under-enumerated, and the economic characteristics of the enterprises caused the lack of representation in the sequestration record.

The picture gained of the involvement of married women in businesses as revealed through the sequestrations must be treated with caution. As was shown (see Chapter Six) sequestrations form an important source for evaluating the role played by family members in production, particularly for female family members where the census is so lacking. There seems to be little reason or evidence that this involvement was distorted in the statements of bankrupts. However, one area where the law of bankruptcy and common law became entangled was in the question of the ownership of property, capital and business interests as regarded the rights of a woman married to the bankrupt (under the law of sequestration), and the legal status of a married woman with regard to holding an estate in her own right (under common law).

Reference is sometimes made in the statements of bankrupts to the role of their wives in the ownership of property or capital within the context of the household or the business. This information could be used to try and outline part of the contribution of women to family strategies of 'getting by' in the household or business. Wives were often attributed with

the ownership of household property, and sometimes of capital. James McLeish, a shoemaker, stated in 1910 that his wife had bought all the furniture as

"she was earning a good wage, fifteen or sixteen shillings a week...My wife has been working all the time."⁴⁴

Similarly, James McIntosh (a coachbuilder) claimed that his wife had bought all their furniture with her own money, and that he had been living in lodgings before they were married.⁴⁵ When interrogated in 1864, Henry McMillan, a carrier, claimed that beyond supplying start-up capital he had "no connection" with his wife's millinery business. He stated

"I never signed bills for her business, she did so herself."⁴⁶

The wife of Andrew Haggart, a joiner and boatbuilder in Abernethy, earned money by dressmaking and taking in lodgers. As he stated

"My wife had money of her own before we were married but she gave it to me to put into the business. She gave me a sum of £20...it was understood that it was to be put into the business to stand for her good...If anything went wrong with the business my wife had a claim on the furniture."⁴⁷

However, it is important to consider the possibility of false claims in this respect. These examples were probably fairly typical of the involvement of wives in domestic and business strategies. However, it

⁴⁴ S.R.O., CS318/55/194.

⁴⁵ S.R.O., CS318/40/264.

⁴⁶ S.R.O., CS318/8/276.

⁴⁷ S.R.O., CS318/45/125.

is very likely that bankrupts were trying desperately to attribute as much as possible of their estate to their wives to avoid its sequestration. Basically, at common law, whatever right a husband had on his wife's estate by virtue of his *jus mariti* passed to the trustee on his estate unless this could be explicitly avoided. Even if a wife were living apart from her husband and carrying on business as a separate trader, the goods belonging to her in connection with this business fell under *jus mariti* and were attachable by her husband's creditors. However, this basic situation was altered by legislation throughout the nineteenth century. The Conjugal Rights Amendment Act of 1861 allowed a decree of separation or a protection order to be obtained to protect a married woman's estate. The husband's Trustee was further excluded by the Married Woman's Property Act of 1877 where the wife had gained wages or earnings from employment carried on in her own name, but this did not include stock in trade or implements. The Married Woman's Property Act of 1881 abolished the husband's *jus mariti* in marriages contracted subsequent to 1881, and any property acquired post 1881 in existing marriages. The wife's estate was then protected from her husband's Trustee provided ownership could be proved by an ante-nuptial marriage contract or provision from a third party. Her moveable property could still be seized if not invested or

secured in her name. Any money or other estate lent by the wife or inmixed with the husband's funds was treated as his.

In this and in other cases of sequestration of a married woman's property she retained the right to be ranked as a creditor, and to receive an equitable provision from the estate. It is important to note that this legislation was developed specifically

"to prevent fictitious claims by a wife upon property which truly belongs to the husband, so as to defraud his creditors."⁴⁸

Thus Robert Lawrence, a hotelier in Blairgowrie, secured his capital under his wife's name, and admitted that

"the sole object in keeping the money in my wife's name was to prevent its being arrested."⁴⁹

As another example, James Chrichton, engineman in Burrelton, claimed that his sister Mary Ann owned the company of J. & J. Chrichton, but denied that this had been done to protect them from their creditors. Thus the attribution of property, capital and business interests to their wives or other family members by bankrupts must be treated with suspicion, and it is doubtful if the information recorded in sequestrations can be used to authentically outline their involvement in the household and business strategies followed.

⁴⁸ Goudy, *op cit*, pp. 286-9.

⁴⁹ S.R.O., CS318/51/171.

Thus, when employing sequestrations as a source for historical analysis certain limitations must be kept in mind. As shown, the material in the sequestration processes represented a group of firms which were small to medium in size. However, it has been argued, this is not as limiting a factor as it at first appears. It is likely that the group of firms represented was numerically important, and also important in economic terms. The sequestrations certainly contain information regarding a complex group of firms. However, it is important to remember that certain types of firms, in terms of the occupation followed, may be under or over represented, thus using sequestrations in an aggregate form as indicators of bankruptcy rates is not possible. In addition, great care must be taken with how the source is used with respect to the involvement of women in business. A final assessment of the source must conclude that sequestrations form a very useful source of information on a wide variety of topics, but that it is important to bear their limitations in mind.

Appendix II

GEOLINK mask file and example GIMMS command file

GEOLINK mask file:

```
$NEWGIMMS
!CM
!CM          MASK FILE CRAFTMAP.MSK
!CM
!CM  This file spools data from crmap.dat
!CM
!CS
!PR ***** Hello Craig, welcome to CRAFTMAP. *****
!PR
!PR
!PR
!CM
!CM  Specify polygon file
!CM
!CM  *FILEPARM 11, '[cy.crmap]CRAFTMAP.GIM', GIMMS, IN
!CM
!CM  Offer plotter (with crmapp.com) or terminal
!CM  (with crmapt.com) output
!CM
!QU "PLOTTER OR TERMINAL OUTPUT?:" OPUT
!IF OPUT PLOTTER P p Plotter plotter
!CM  *FILEPARM 19, '[CY.CRMAP]MAP.PLT', TEXT, OUT
!CM  *PLOT Parm PLOTTER NOLOGO
!EI
!CM
!IF OPUT TERMINAL T t Terminal terminal TERM
!CM  *FILEPARM 6 'GRAPHICS.LIS', TEXT, OUT
!CM  *PLOT Parm T4107 BAUDS 9600 NOLOGO
!EI
!CM
!CM  *TEXT Parm ALPHABET=63
!CM
!CM  *PLOT Prog
!CM  *NEWMAP 19 26 FRAME
!CM
!CM  GIMMS commands follow for map design
!CM
!CM
!CM  *GIMMSFILE=11
!CM  *SYMBOLISM POINT CIRCLE
!CM  LEVELS 0.30 0.35 0.40 0.45 0.50 0.55 0.60 0.65
!CM  0.70 0.75 0.80 0.85 0.90 0.95 1.00 1.05 1.10 1.15
!CM  1.20 1.25
!CM
!CM  Design and place legend
!CM
!CM  *POINT 2 1 1
```

```

*POINT 2 1.65 10
*POINT 2 2.7 20
*TEXT POSITION 3 1 0.15 '£35 or less'/
3 1.53 0.2 '£700'/
3 2.56 0.2 '£1400'
!CM
*NORTHPT 18 24.5 SIZE 1.2 NDRAW
*SHIELD 17.4,24.4 18.6,25.8 FRAME
!CM
!CM
!CM Define origin of map.
!CM
!CM
!CS
!PR
!PR ***** DEFINE MAP ORIGIN AND SCALE *****
!PR
!PR
!PR Default values give map of Scotland, 0,0 for U.K.
!PR
!PR
!CM
!CM
!QU "GIVE ORIGIN IN NAT GRID(X)? (def is 500):" XNAT
!PR
!PR
!QU "GIVE ORIGIN IN NAT GRID(Y)? (def is 5000):" YNAT
!CM
!CM
!PR
!PR
!PR Default value for Scotland, 0.0027 for U.K.
!CM
!CM
!PR
!PR
!QU "GIVE SCALE FACTOR (default is 0.0039):" SCAL
!CM
!IF XNAT ""
!SV XNAT 500
!EI
!CM
!IF YNAT ""
!SV YNAT 5000
!EI
!CM
!IF SCAL ""
!SV SCAL 0.0039
!EI
!CM
!CM
!CM
!CM
!CM
!CM

```



```

!CM
!CM
  *SCALE FACTOR=!SCAL
  *ORIGIN 2 2 MAP=!XNAT !YNAT
  *LINETYPE 11
  *BOX MAPUNITS 2850,7150 3350,7500
  *BOX 1.7,3.6 2.3,4.2
  *LINETYPE 0
  *TEXT 3.0 3.8 0.17 'Study area'
  *BOX 1.3,0.8 4.9,4.5
  *SHIELD 1.3,0.8 4.9,4.5 FRAME
!CM
!CS
!PR          ***** SPECIFY WHICH MAP TO DRAW *****
!PR
!PR
!CM
!CM
!CM  Read data from CRMAP.DAT, specify data code
!CM
!CM
!QU "PLEASE ENTER DATA CODE NUMBER:" CODE
!PR
!PR
!NE SPOOL CRMAP.DAT
!DE TIT
!FI !CODE
!RE !TIT
!PR MAP IS OF: !TIT
!PR
!PR
!CL CRMAP.DAT
!CM
!CM
!QU "NAME MAP LOCATIONS?:" NAM
!PR
!IF NAM YES Y yes y
!PR
!PR PLACENAMES
!PR =====
!PR
!NE SPOOL CRNAMES.DAT
!DE X Y NAME
!FI !CODE
!SK
!BL
!RE !X !Y !NAME
!IF X 99999
!EX
!EI
!PR !NAME
  *TEXT MAPUNITS !X !Y REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' !NAME'
!EL
!EI

```

```

!CL CRNAMES.DAT
!CM
!CM
  *TEXT 0.2 0.2 0.17
  TEXT= 'Compiled on GIMMS and GEOLINK by C. Young.
  Source: SRO, !CODE.'
  SHIELD/
  0.3 24.8 0.38 '!TIT' SHIELD
!CM
!CM
!NE SPOOL CRMAP.DAT
!CM
!DE XLOC1 YLOC1 CAP
!FI !CODE
!SK
!CM
!CM
!CS
!PR
!PR *** CAUTION: if YLOC is less than !YNAT
!PR          then point is off map ***
!PR
!PR Data read:
!PR
!PR XLOC1 YLOC1 LEVEL
!PR =====
!PR
!CM
!CM
!CM   Begin a loop to read data beginning
!CM   at the desired code number and
!CM   ending when 99999 code is found.
!CM
!CM   Check point(s) lies on map.
!CM
!CM   Compute the LEVEL of the capital value.
!CM
!CM   Print the values read on the terminal.
!CM
!BL
!RE
!IF XLOC1 99999
!EX
!EI
!CP CAP !CAP / 70
  *POINT MAPUNITS !XLOC1 !YLOC1 !CAP
!PR !XLOC1 !YLOC1 !CAP
!EL
!CM
!CM
  *DRAWMAP FILE=11
  *END
  *STOP
!CM

```

```
!CM
!NI OPUT T TERMINAL terminal Term t
!CM $HPLOT [CY.CRMAP]MAP.PLT
!EI
!CM
!CM Give the option of running the mask again or exit.
!CM
!CM
!PR
!PR
!PR
!QU "RESTART MASK FILE? (default is n):" MASK
!IF MASK YES yes Y y
!RM
!EI
!PR
!PR
!ST
```

Example GIMMS command file:

```
$NEWGIMMS
*FILEPARM 11, '[cy.crm]CRAFTMAP.GIM', GIMMS, IN
*FILEPARM 19, '[CY.CRM]MAP.PLT', TEXT, OUT
*PLOTARM PLOTTER NOLOGO
*TEXTARM ALPHABET=63
*PLOTPROG
*NEWMAP 19 26 FRAME
*GIMMSFILE=11
*SYMBOLISM POINT CIRCLE
  LEVELS 0.30 0.35 0.40 0.45 0.50 0.55 0.60 0.65
  0.70 0.75 0.80 0.85 0.90 0.95 1.00 1.05 1.10 1.15
  1.20 1.25
*POINT 2 1 1
*POINT 2 1.65 10
*POINT 2 2.7 20
*TEXT POSITION 3 1 0.15 '£35 or less'/
3 1.53 0.2 '£700'/
3 2.56 0.2 '£1400'
*NORTHPT 18 24.5 SIZE 1.2 NDRAW
*SHIELD 17.4,24.4 18.6,25.8 FRAME
*SCALE FACTOR=0.03
*ORIGIN 2 2 MAP=2500 7500
*LINETYPE 11
*BOX MAPUNITS 2850,7150 3350,7500
*BOX 1.7,3.6 2.3,4.2
*LINETYPE 0
*TEXT 3.0 3.8 0.17 'Study area'
*BOX 1.3,0.8 4.9,4.5
*SHIELD 1.3,0.8 4.9,4.5 FRAME
*TEXT MAPUNITS 2770 7220 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Comrie'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3330 6670 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Dalkeith'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 2770 7210 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Dalginross'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 2860 7210 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Crieff'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 2580 7230 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Lochearnhead'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 2790 6930 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Stirling'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 2740 7220 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Dalchonzie'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3260 6760 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Leith'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 2580 6650 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Glasgow'
*TEXT 0.2 0.2 0.17
TEXT= 'Compiled on GIMMS and GEOLINK by C. Young.
Source: SRO, CS318/21/111.'
SHIELD/
0.3 24.8 0.38 'Matthew-Dunn-builder/contractor-
Comrie-1872.' SHIELD
*POINT MAPUNITS 2770 7220 5.
*POINT MAPUNITS 3330 6670 1.
*POINT MAPUNITS 2770 7210 1.
*POINT MAPUNITS 2860 7210 2.
*POINT MAPUNITS 2580 7230 2.
*POINT MAPUNITS 2790 6930 1.
*POINT MAPUNITS 2740 7220 1.
*POINT MAPUNITS 3260 6760 1.
```


*POINT MAPUNITS 2580 6650 1.
*DRAWMAP FILE=11
*END
*STOP

Appendix III

Multiple occupations

The following examples of multiple occupations were extracted from the census enumerators' books sample of the 1851 and 1861 censuses, and from the Registrar General's marriage certificates, 1860-70.

Census occupational titles:

ag lab and pan filler
ag lab and rabbit catcher
agric lab and linen weavr
agric. lab. and house ser
bleacher and nightwatch.
bleacher and trapper
book agent and tailor
church beadle and ag lab
coffee hse pro and tailor
constable and sheriff off
crofter and blacksmith
crofter and blacksmith
crofter and carpenter
crofter and carrier
crofter and labourer
crofter and mason
crofter and sawyer
crofter and shoemaker
crofter and turner
crofter and weaver
crofter and web agent
farmer and agric. lab.
farmer and carpenter
farmer and cattle dealer
farmer and docter
farmer and mason
farmer and sawmiller
grocer and clothier
ground officer
innkeeper and farmer
innkeeper and rail guard
miller and agent of meal
pendicler and agric lab.
pendicler and blacksmith
pendicler and carter
pendicler and constable
pendicler and dressmaker
pendicler and forester
pendicler and grocer
pendicler and linen weavr
pendicler and merchant
pendicler and sack weaver
pendicler and shoemaker
pendicler and sq. wright
pendicler and stone mason
pendicler and tailor
pendicler and thatcher
pendicler and wright
saddler and shoemaker
sawmiller and mason
shoemaker and grocer
tailor and grocer

Marriage certificates occupational titles:

baker and farmer
carver and gilder
cook and housekeeper
engine smith and iron turner
farmer and innkeeper
forester and gamekeeper
joiner and sawmiller
master bellhanger and wireworker
master blacksmith and farmer
master millwright, chain and machine maker
master tanner and shoemaker
shoemaker and labourer
turner and sawyer
weaver and butcher
weaver and tanner

Appendix IV

Markets of craft firms

Market of George Lankham, saddler, Inchtute, 1857

Source: S.R.O., CS318/2/100.

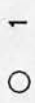
Number of customers



15 or more



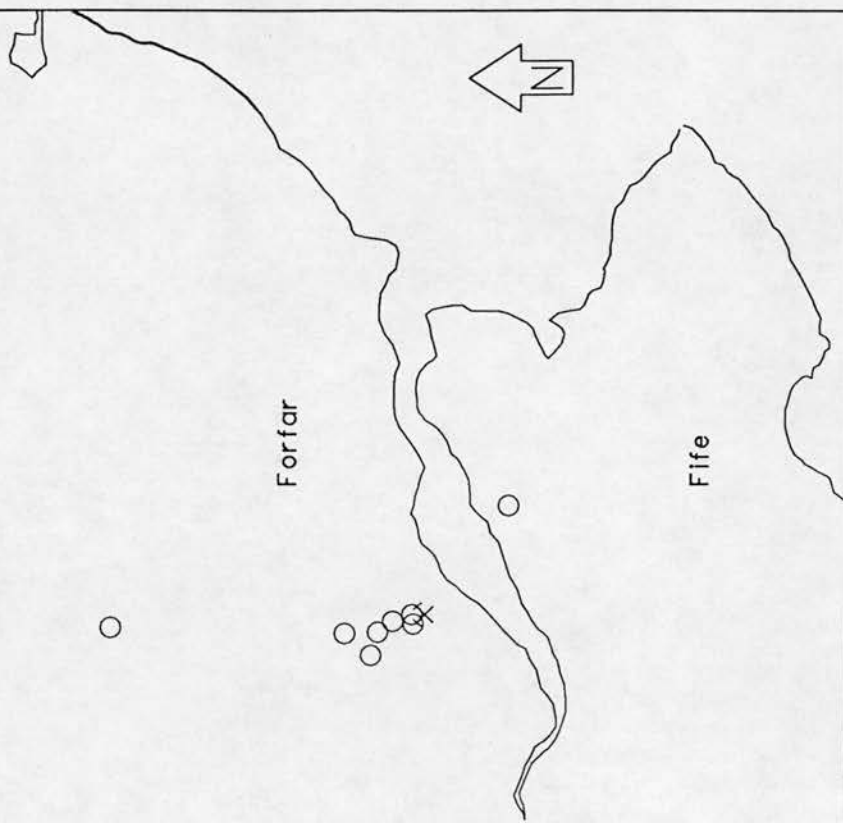
5



1



Firm location



Market of James Cree, baker, Meigle, 1878

Source: S.R.O., CS318/24/103

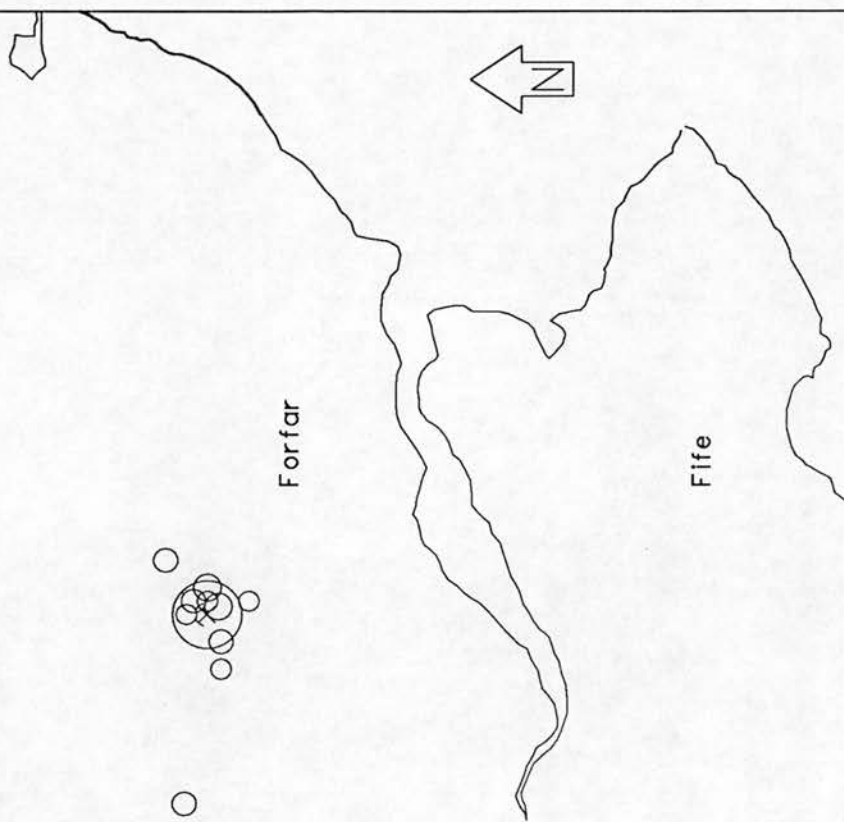
Number of customers

○ 15 or more

○ 5

○ 1

✕ Firm location



Market of James Donaldson, plumber, Crieff, 1862

Source: S.R.O., CS318/7/87

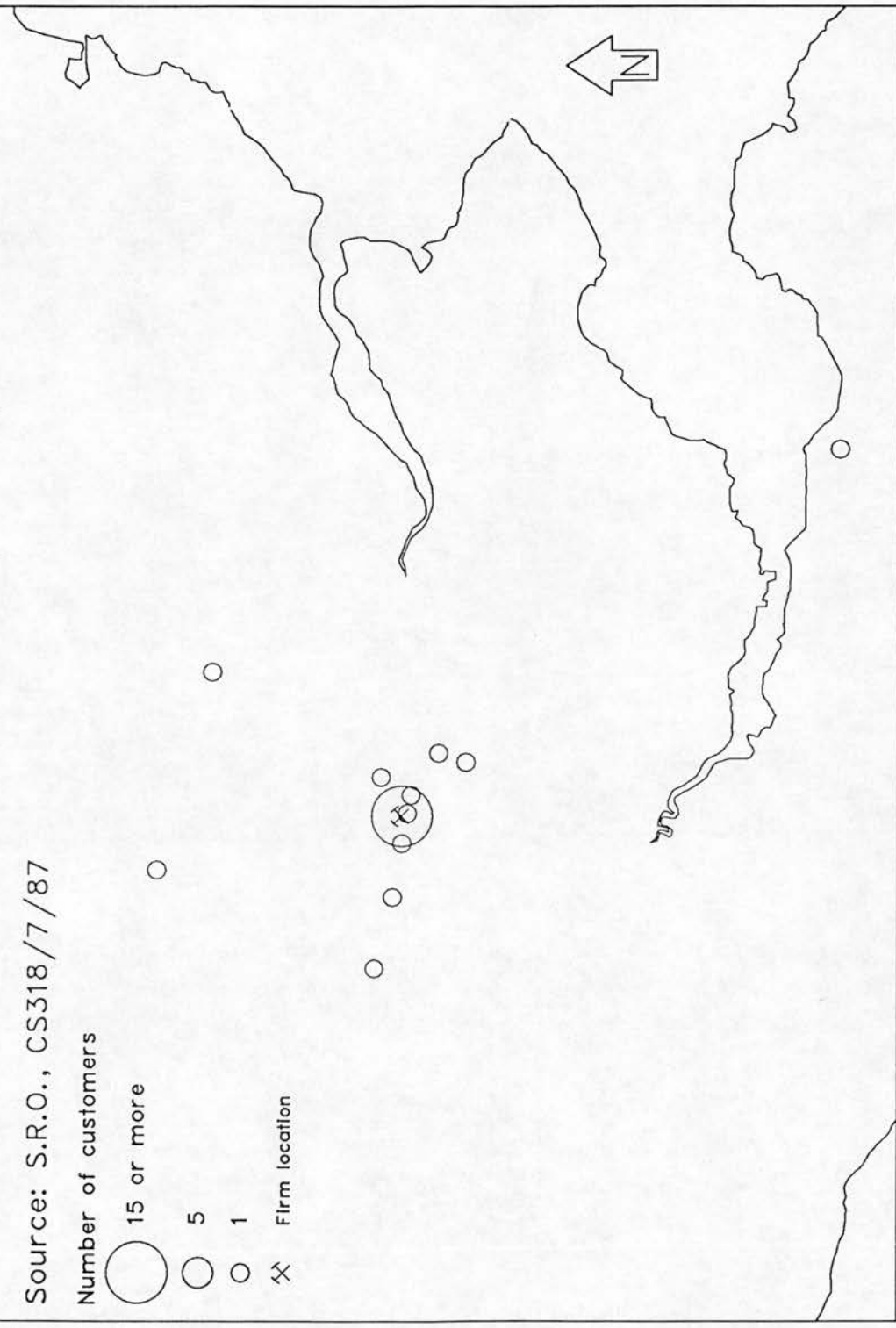
Number of customers

○ 15 or more

○ 5

○ 1

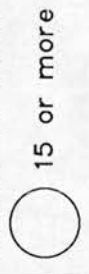
✕ Firm location



Market of James Rankine, baker, Blairgowrie, 1862

Source: S.R.O., CS318/7/284

Number of customers

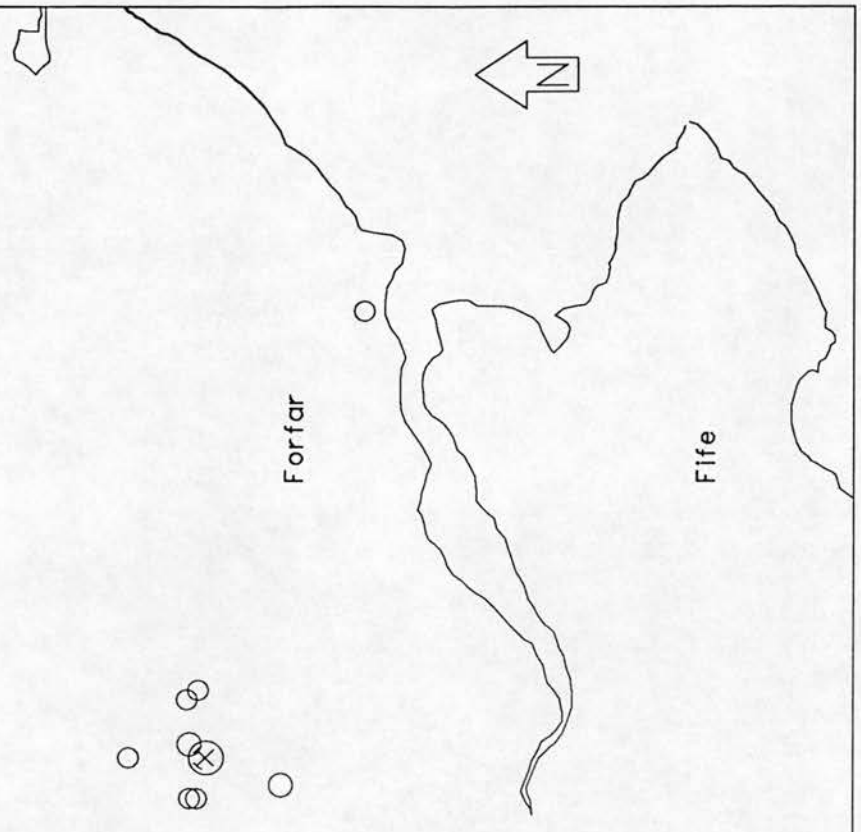


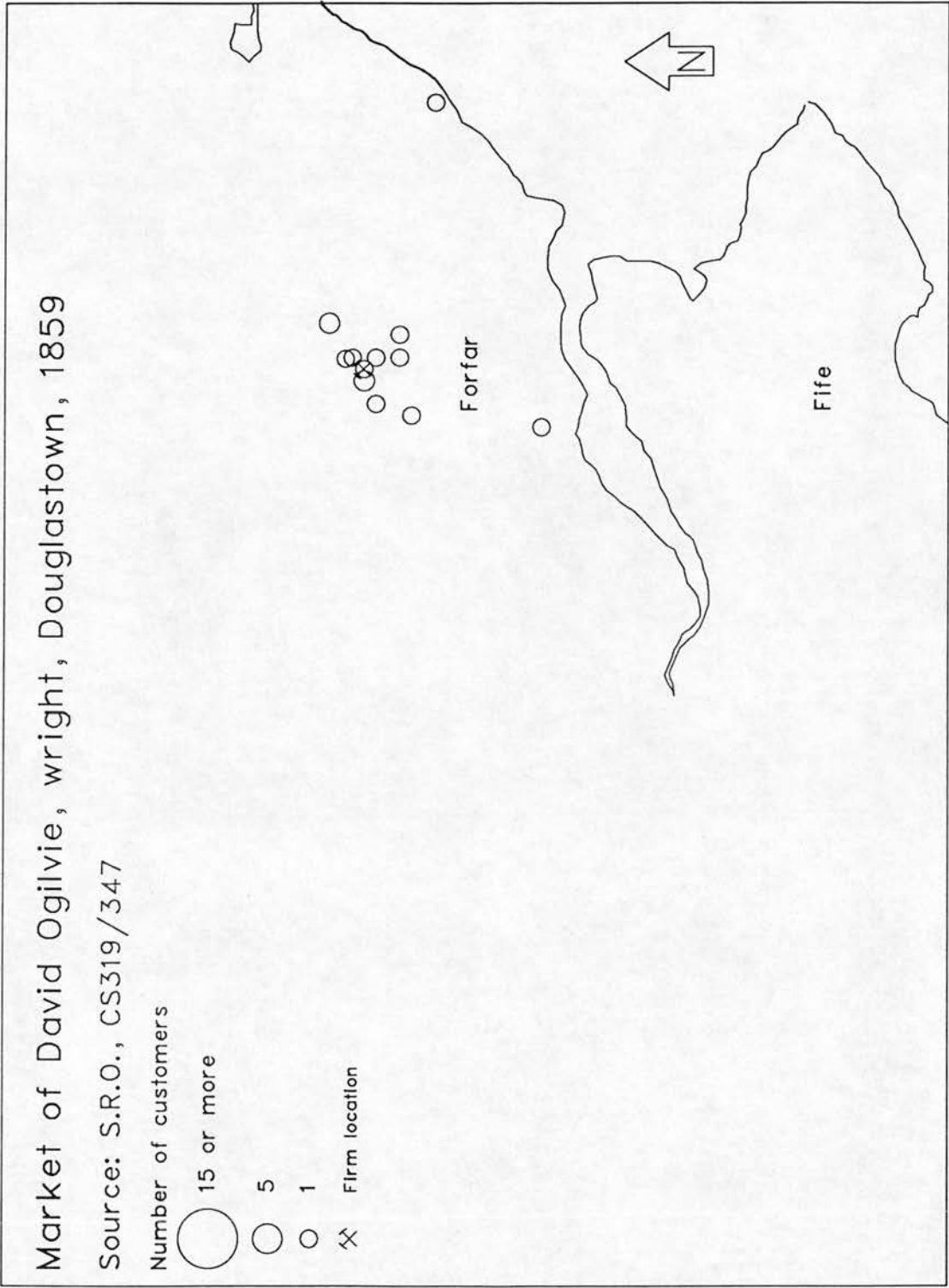
○ 15 or more

○ 5

○ 1

✕ Firm location





Market of John Stewart, saddler, Crieff, 1847

Source: S.R.O., CS319/2496

Number of customers



15 or more



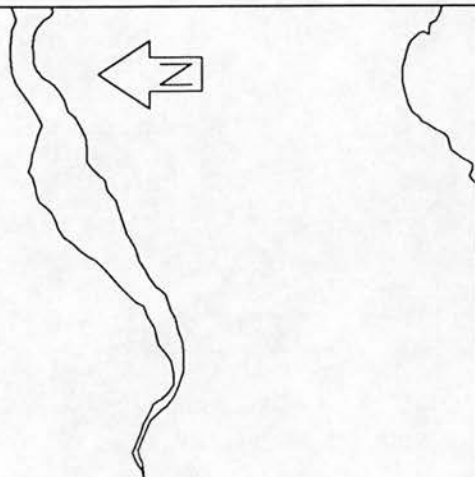
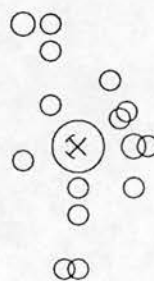
5



1



Firm location



Market of Peter McGregor, joiner, Crieff, 1889

Source: S.R.O., CS318/16/222

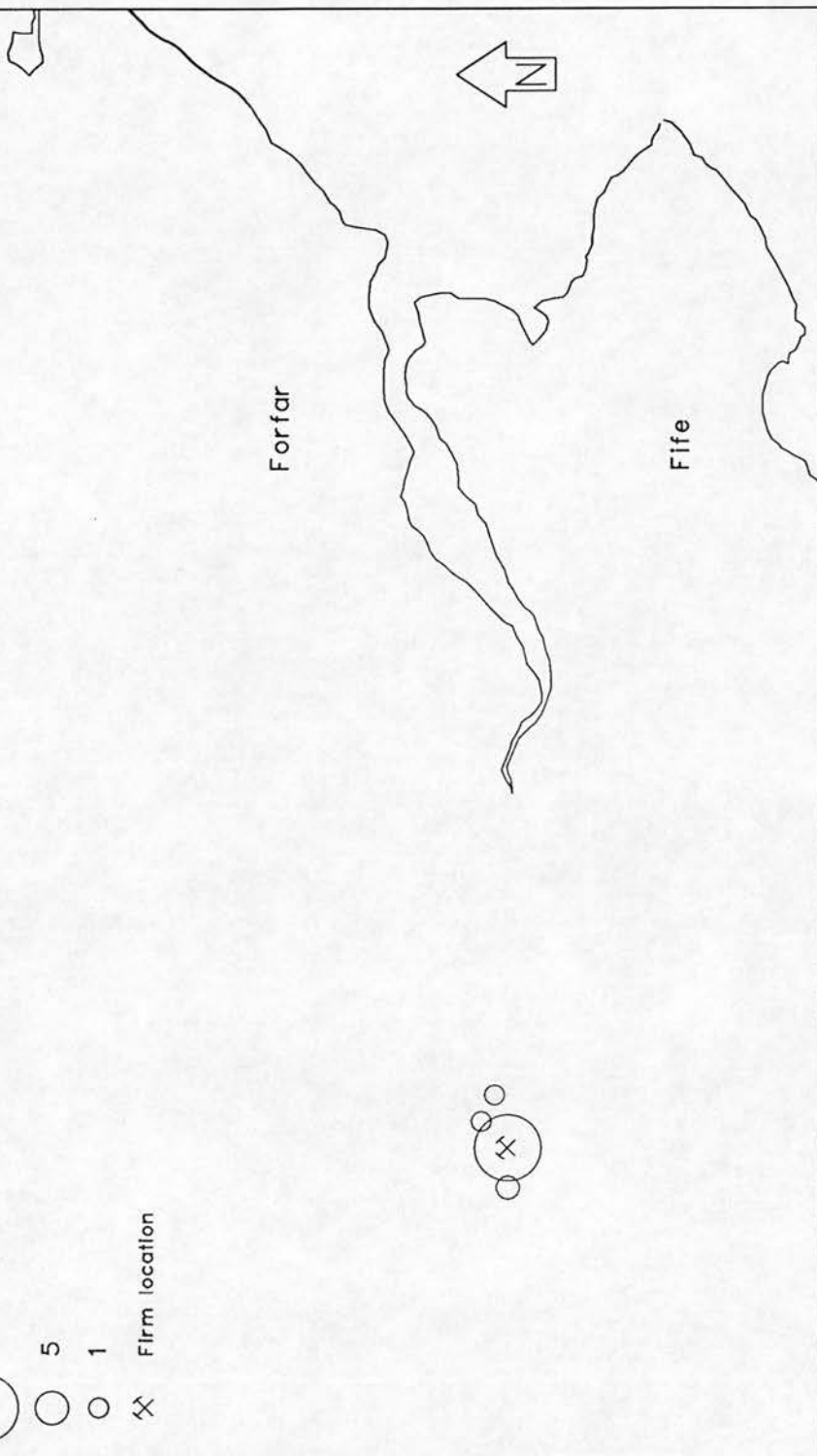
Number of customers

15 or more

5

1

Firm location



Market of James McDonald, flesher, Laguna, 1860

Source: S.R.O., CS318/6/226

Number of customers



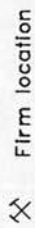
15 or more



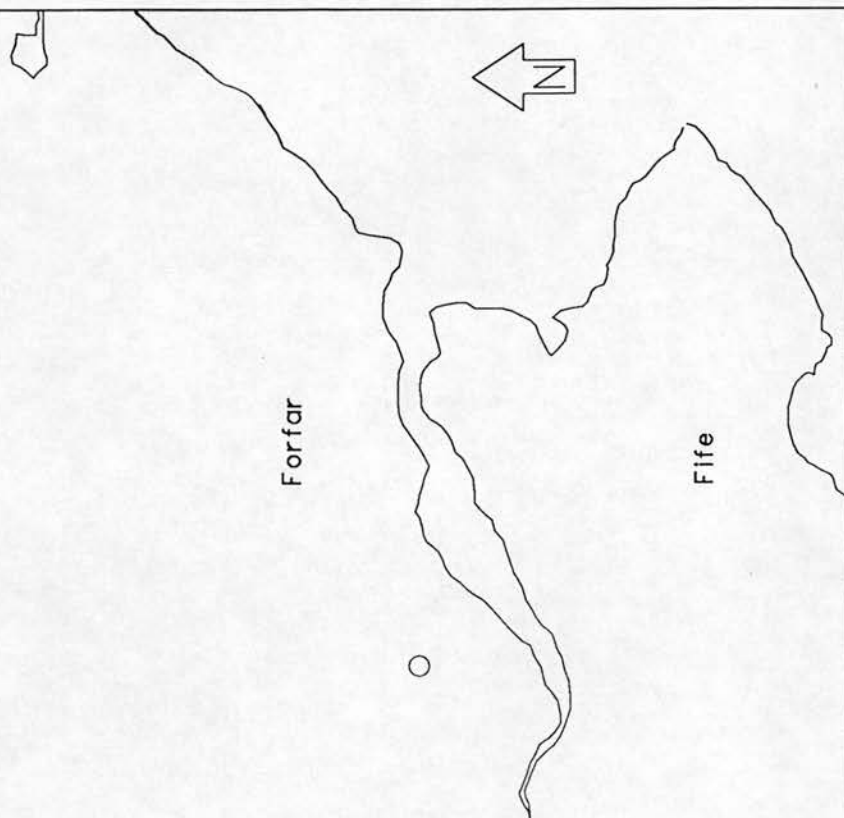
5

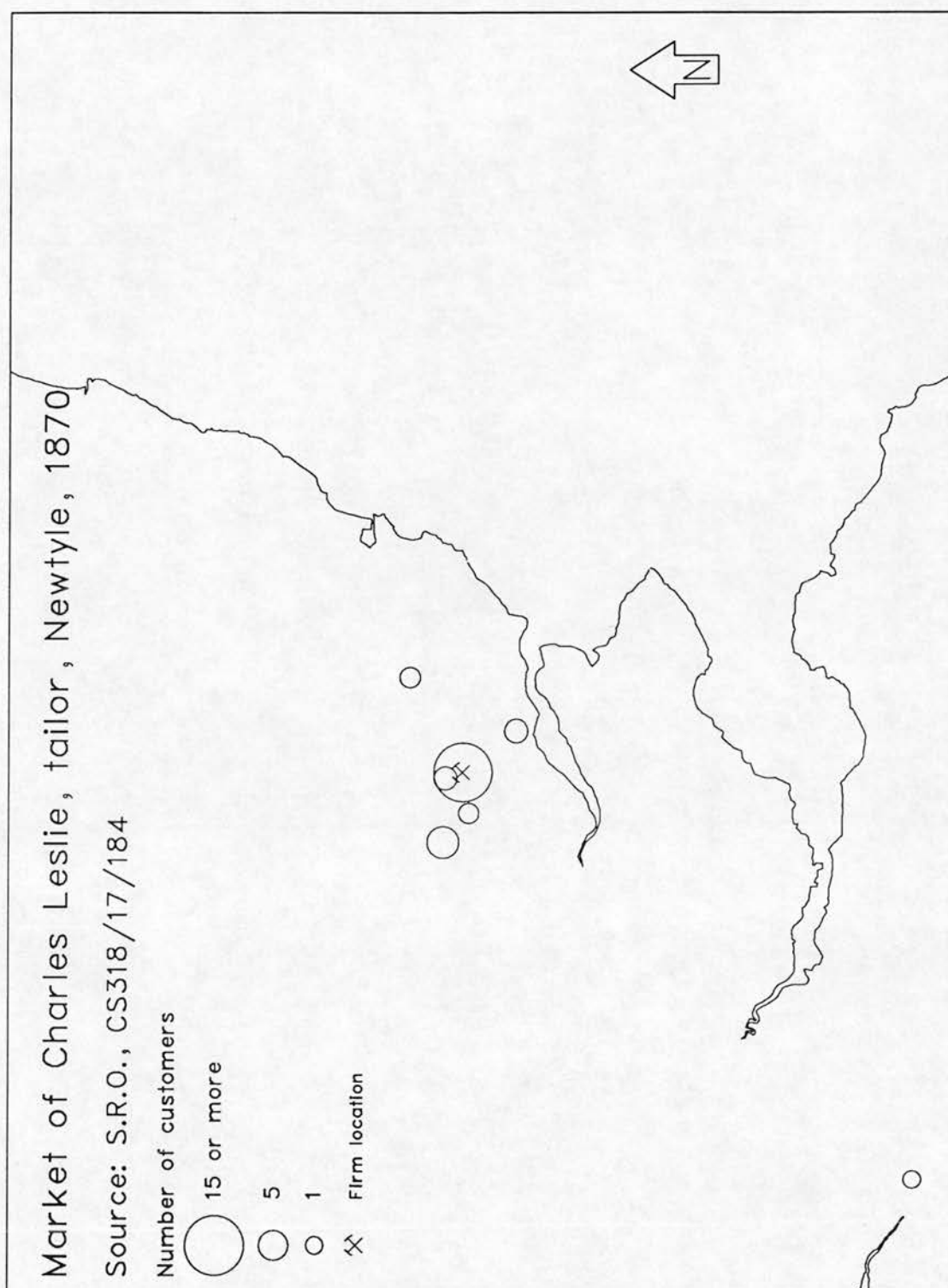


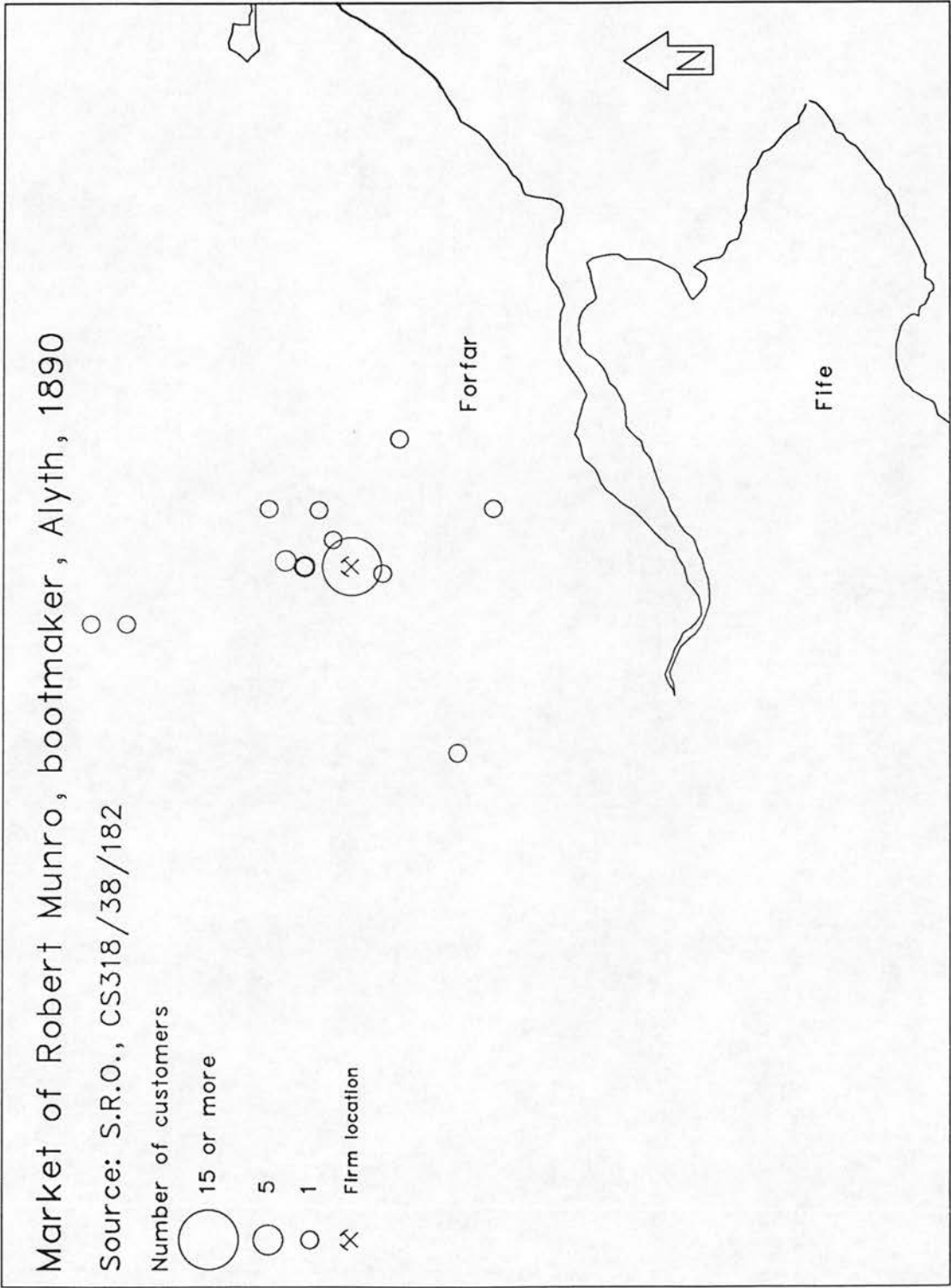
1



Firm location







Market of John Devine, cabinet maker, Crieff, 1887

Source: S.R.O., CS319/3151

Number of customers



15 or more



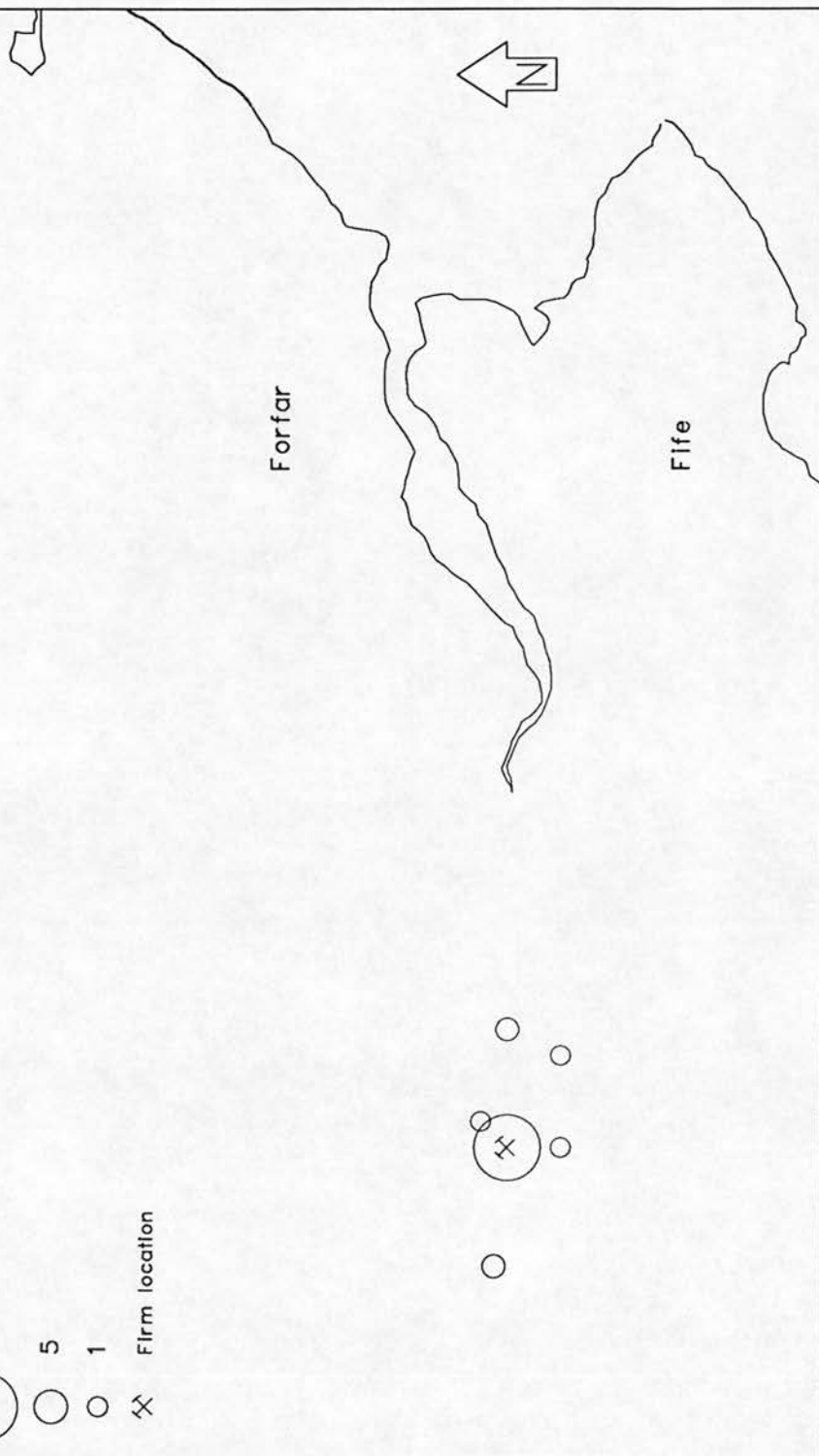
5



1



Firm location



Market of David Stewart, shoemaker, Coupar Angus, 1856

Source: S.R.O., CS319/60

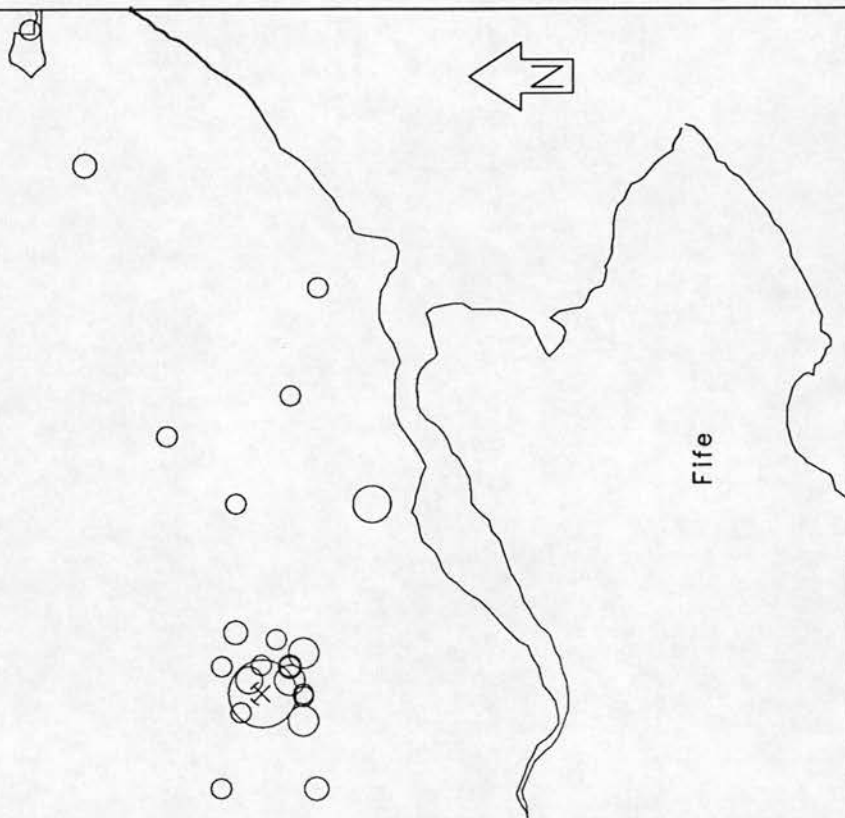
Number of customers

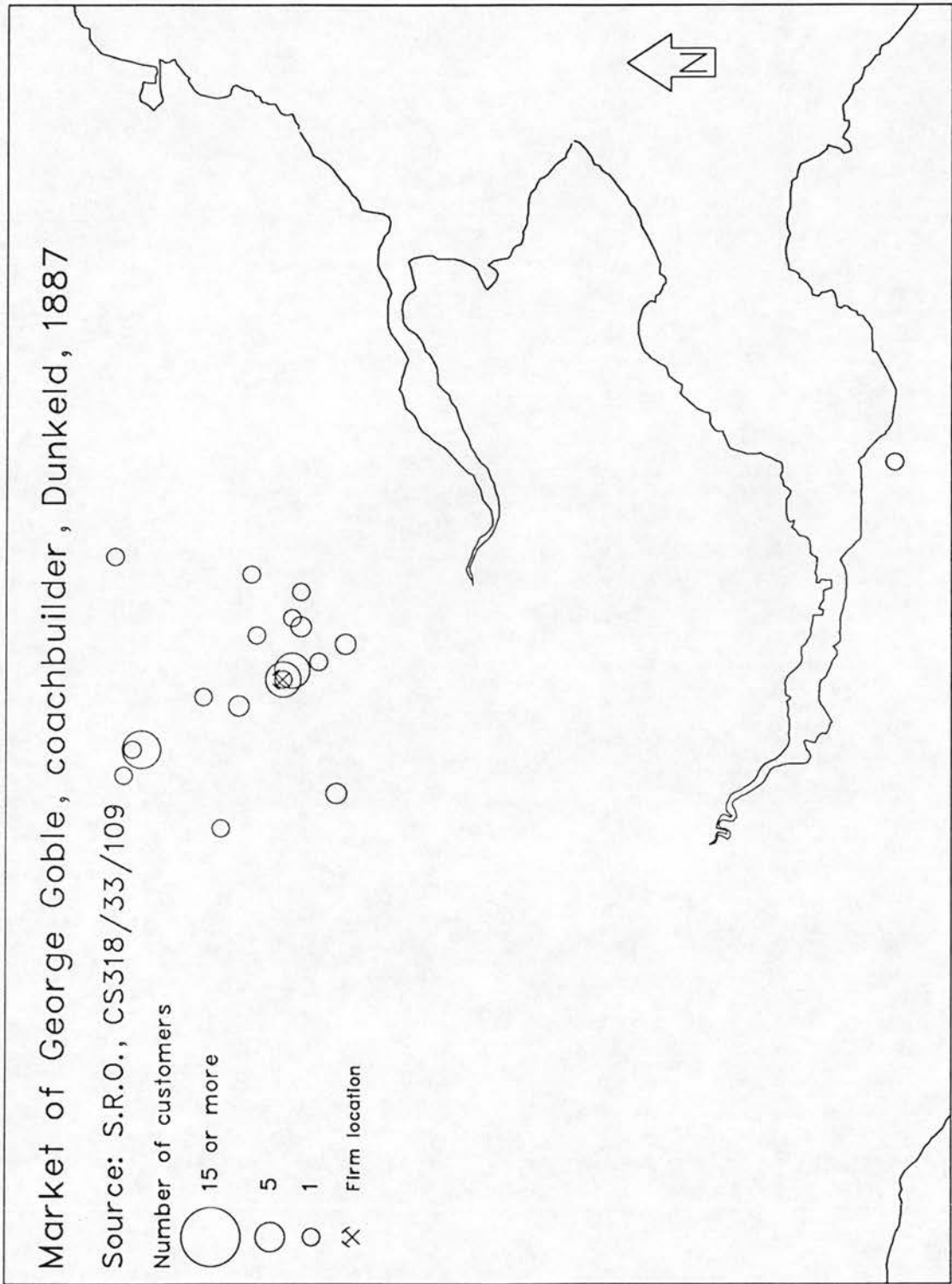
15 or more

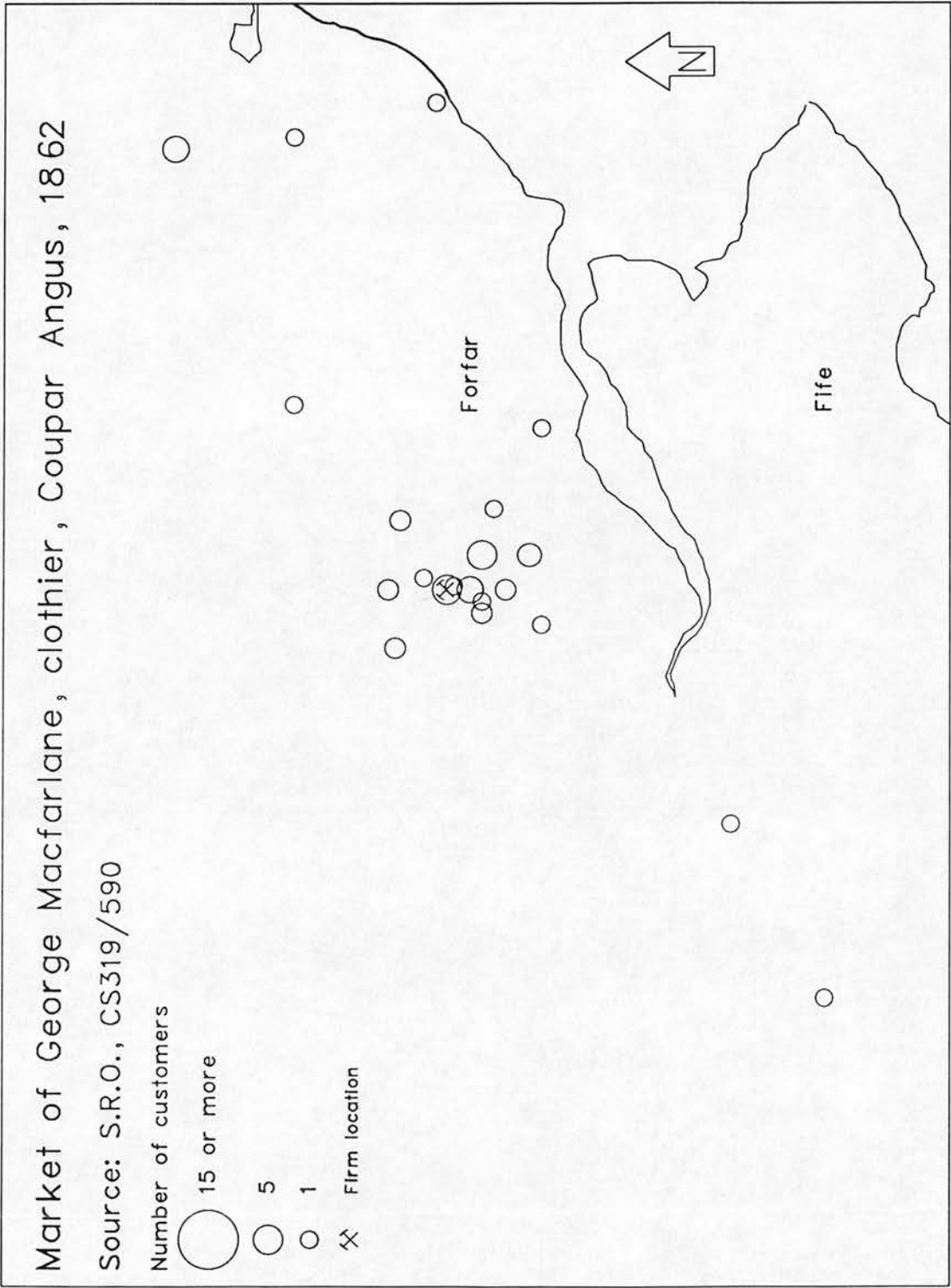
5

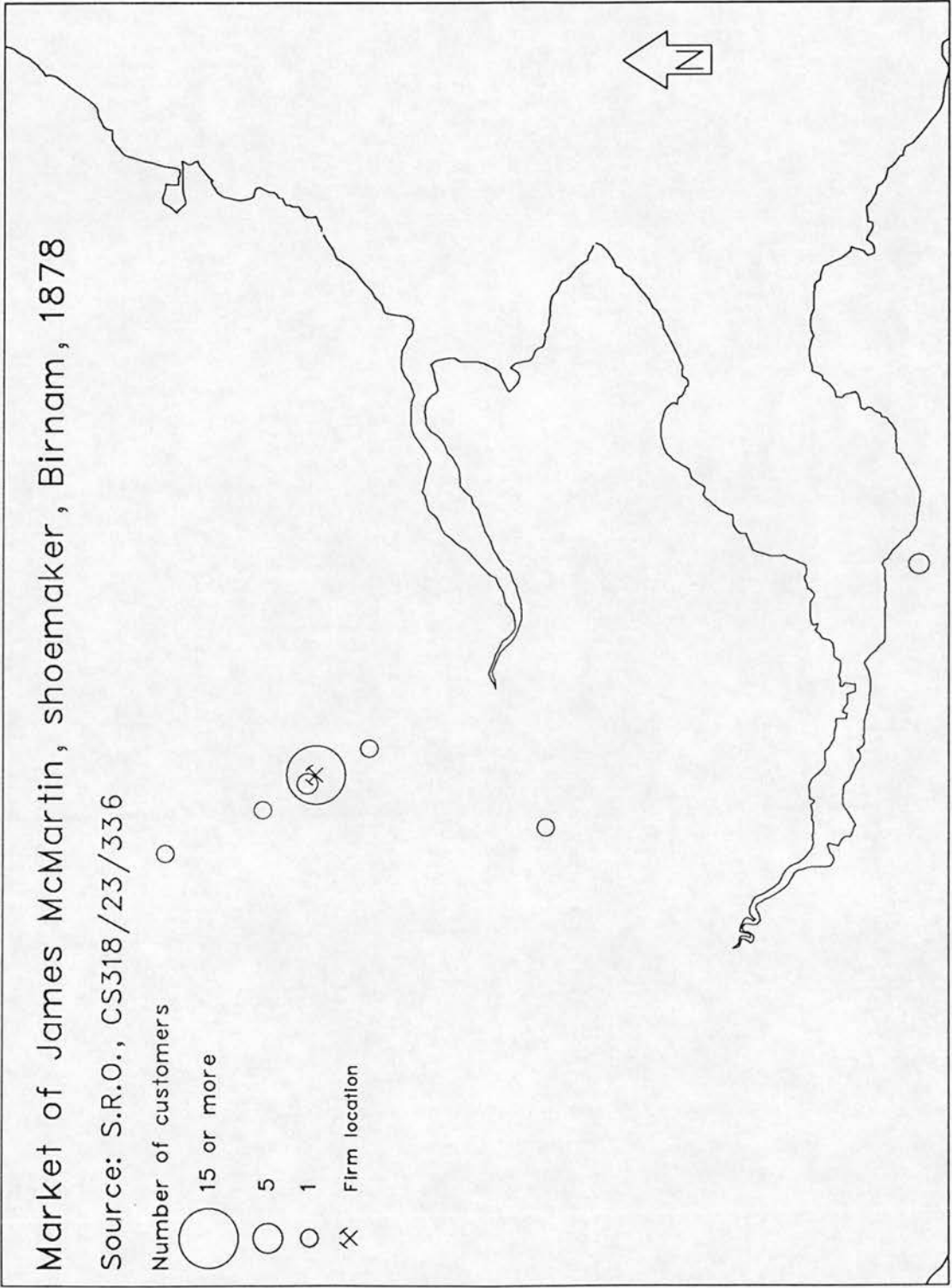
1

Firm location









Market of John McLauchlan, shoemaker, Blairgowrie, 1870

Source: S.R.O., CS318/15/295

Number of customers



15 or more



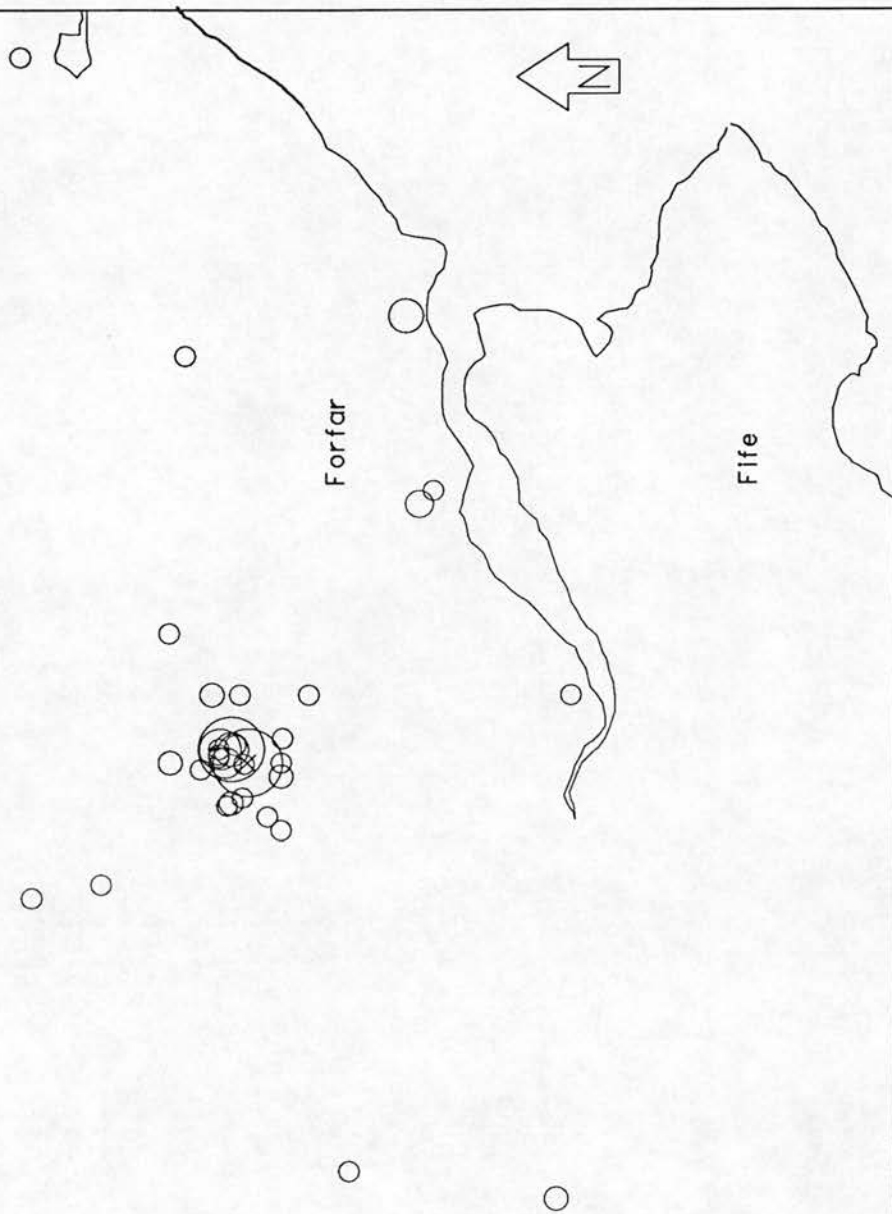
5



1



Firm location



Market of James Mcleish, shoemaker, Bankfoot, 1910

Source: S.R.O., CS318/55/194

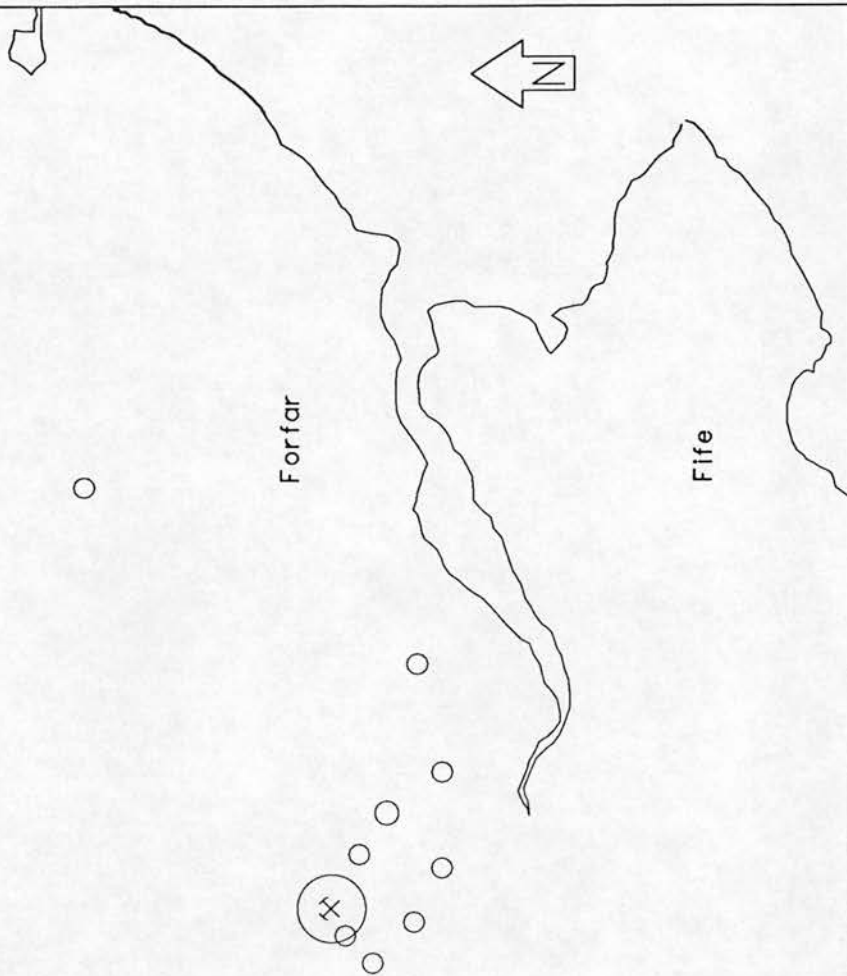
Number of customers

○ 15 or more

○ 5

○ 1

✕ Firm location



Market of James Brown, flesher, Blairgowrie, 1858

Source: S.R.O., CS318/2/14

Number of customers



15 or more



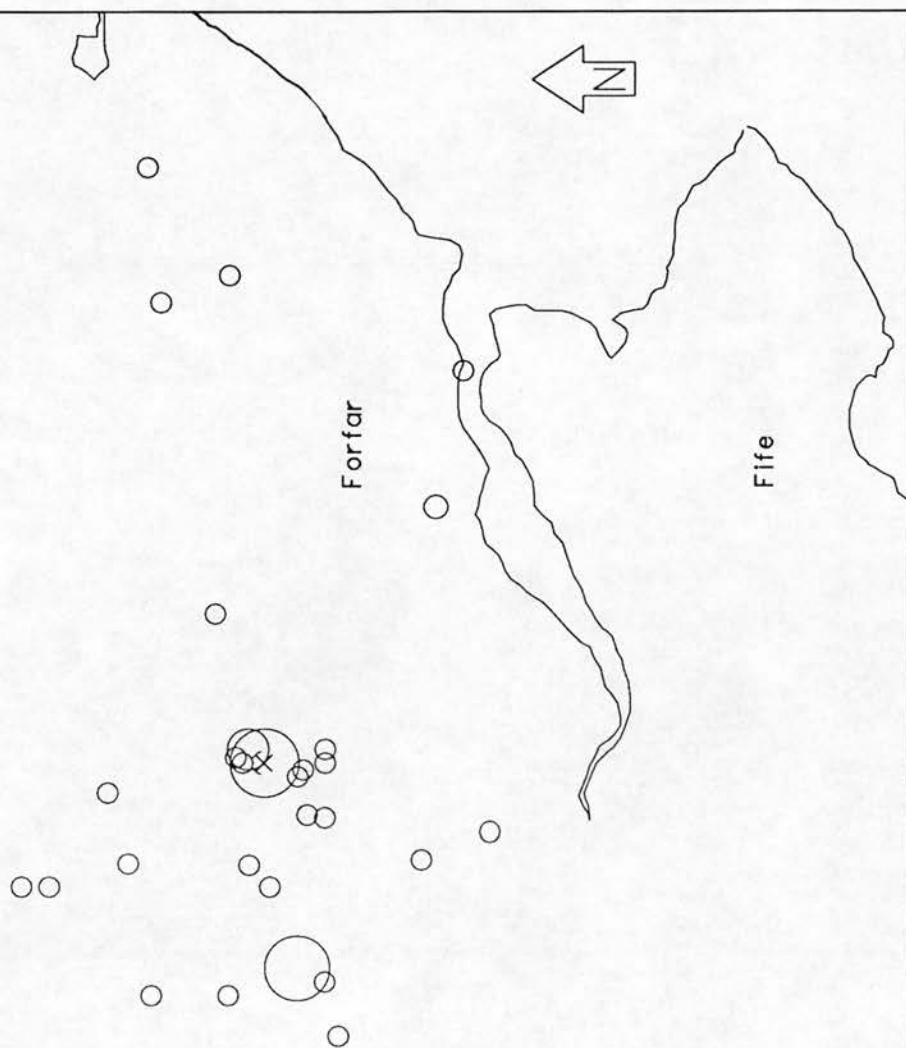
5



1



Firm location



Market of Peter Wynd, baker, Inchtute, 1871

Source: S.R.O., CS318/17/367

Number of customers



15 or more



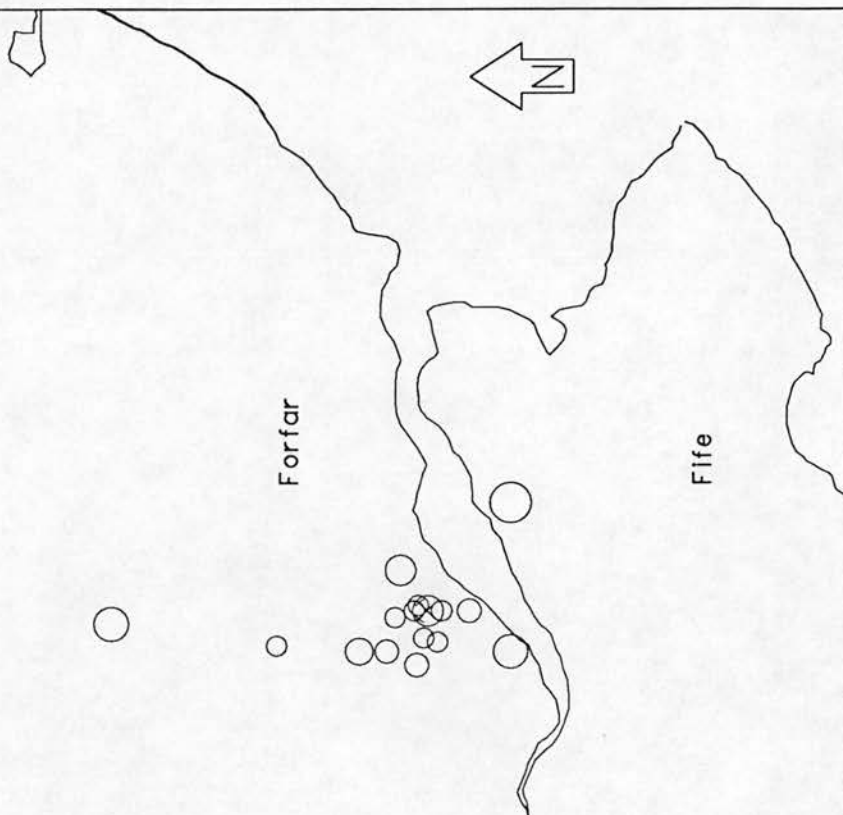
5

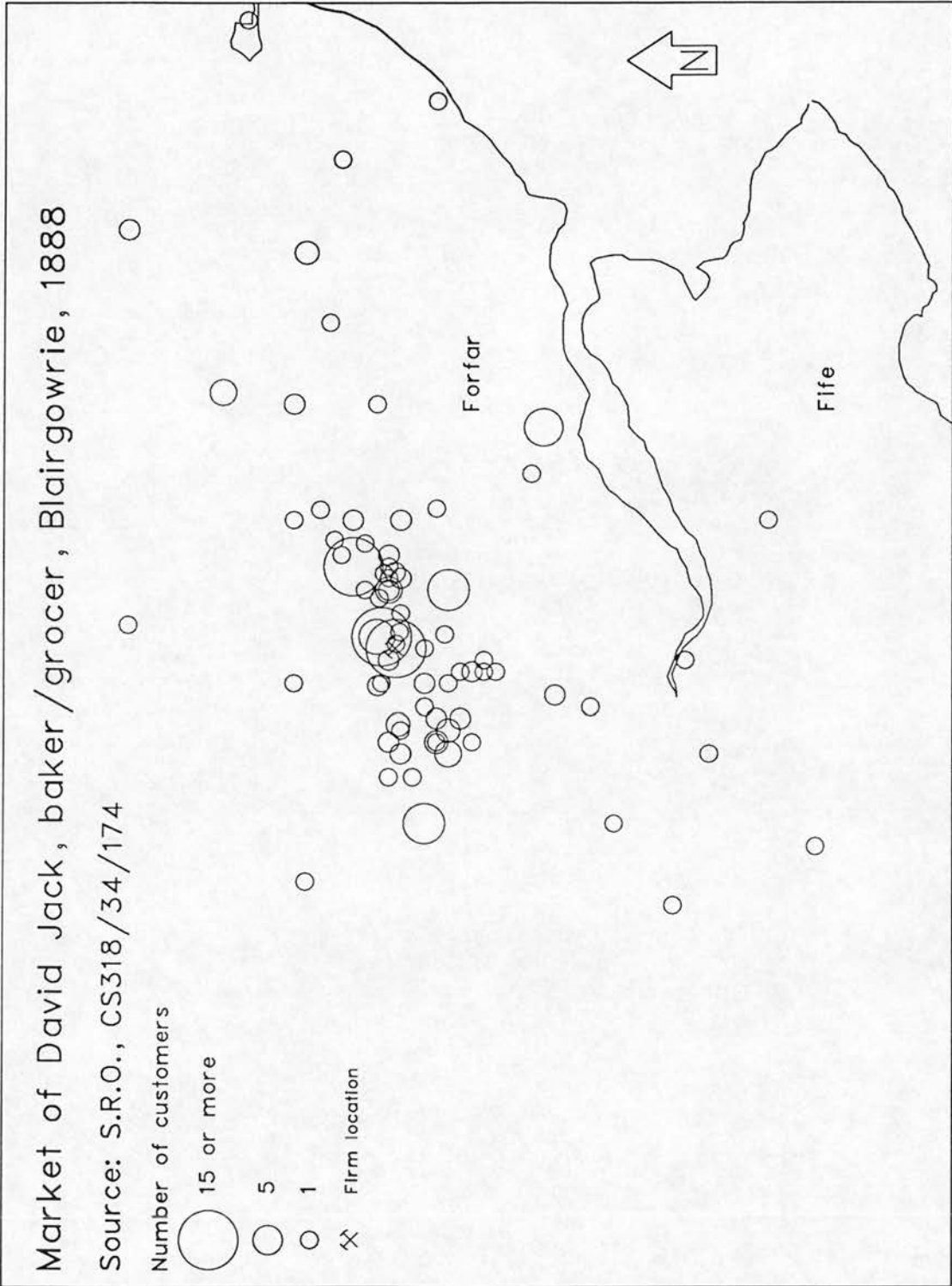


1



Firm location





Market of Alexander Martin, cabinet maker, Crieff, 1866

Source: S.R.O., CS318/10/233

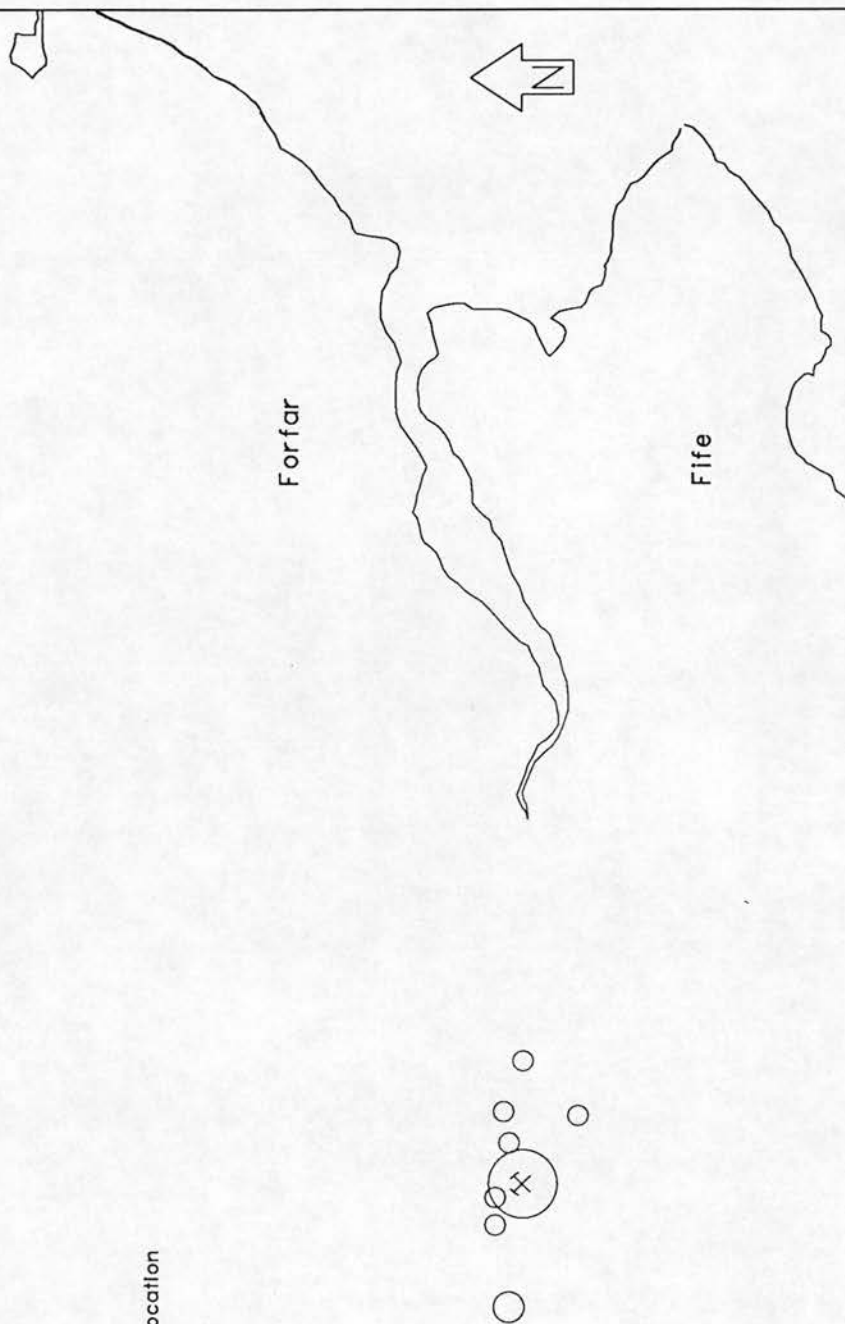
Number of customers

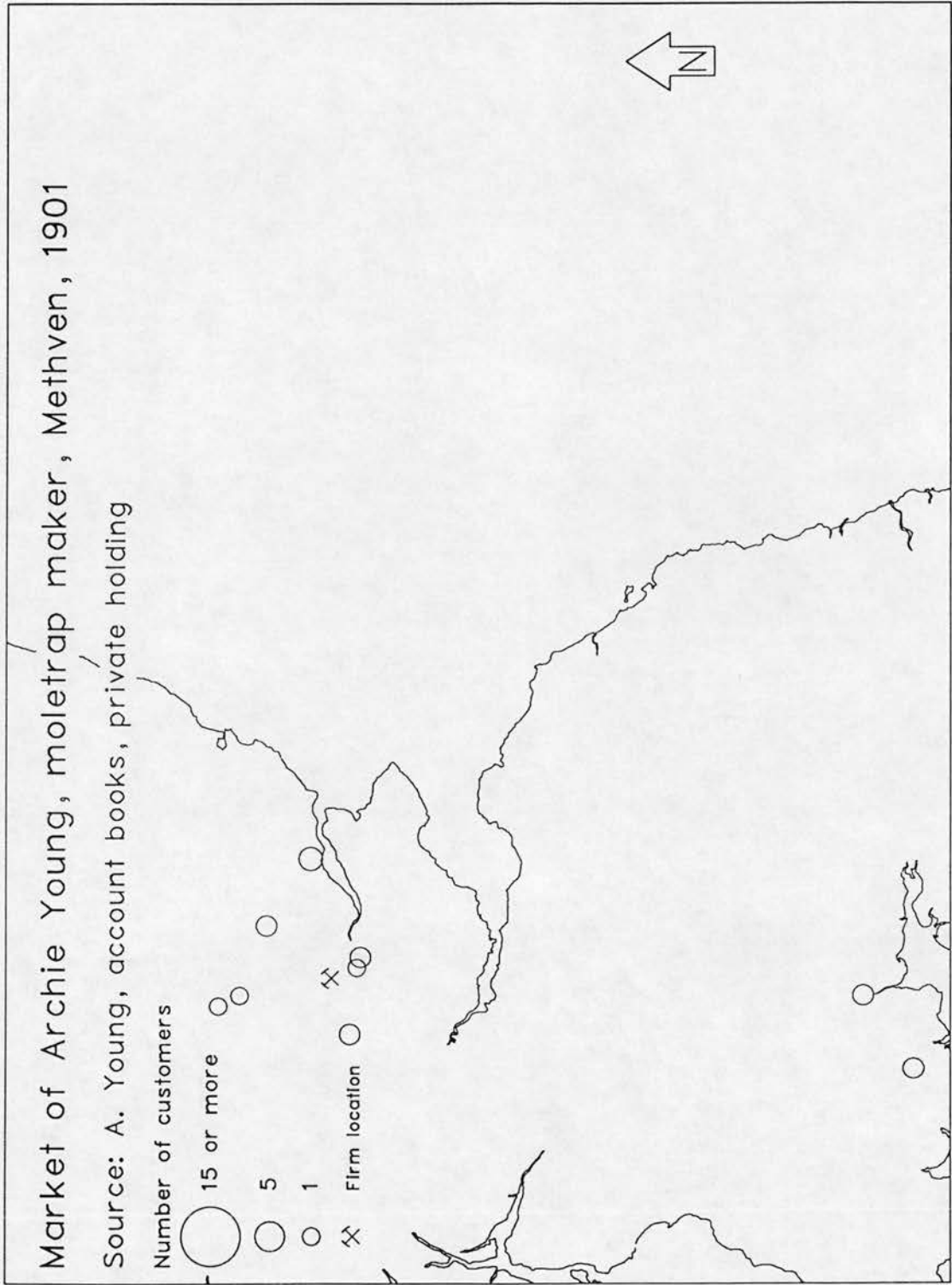
○ 15 or more

○ 5

○ 1

✕ Firm location





Market of Hally and Son, smiths, Burrelton, 1929

Source: N.M.A.S., account books, Country Life Archive

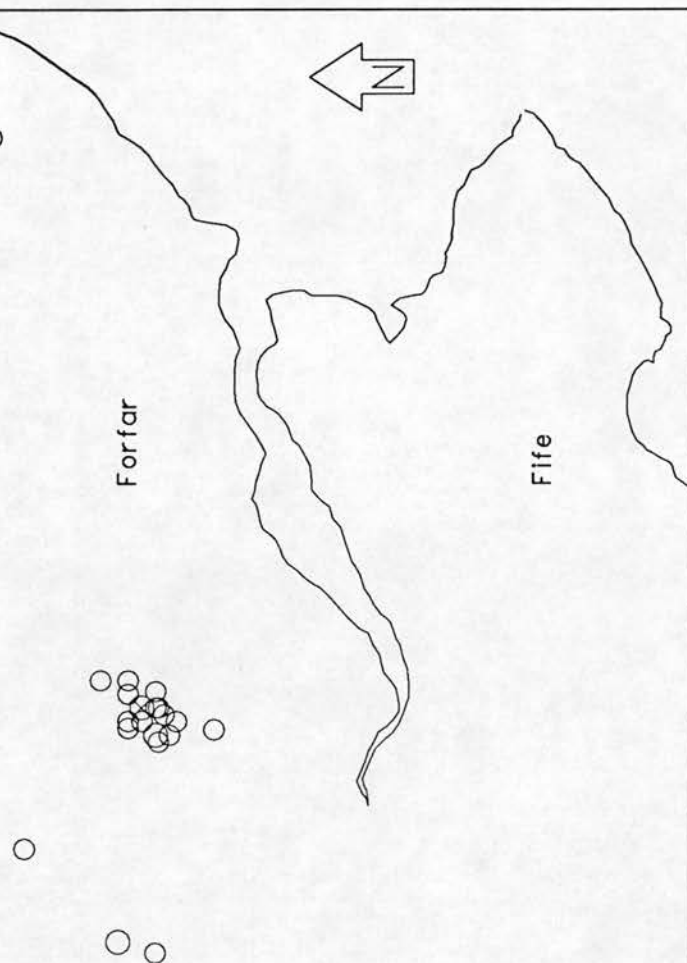
Number of customers

○ 15 or more

○ 5

○ 1

✕ Firm location

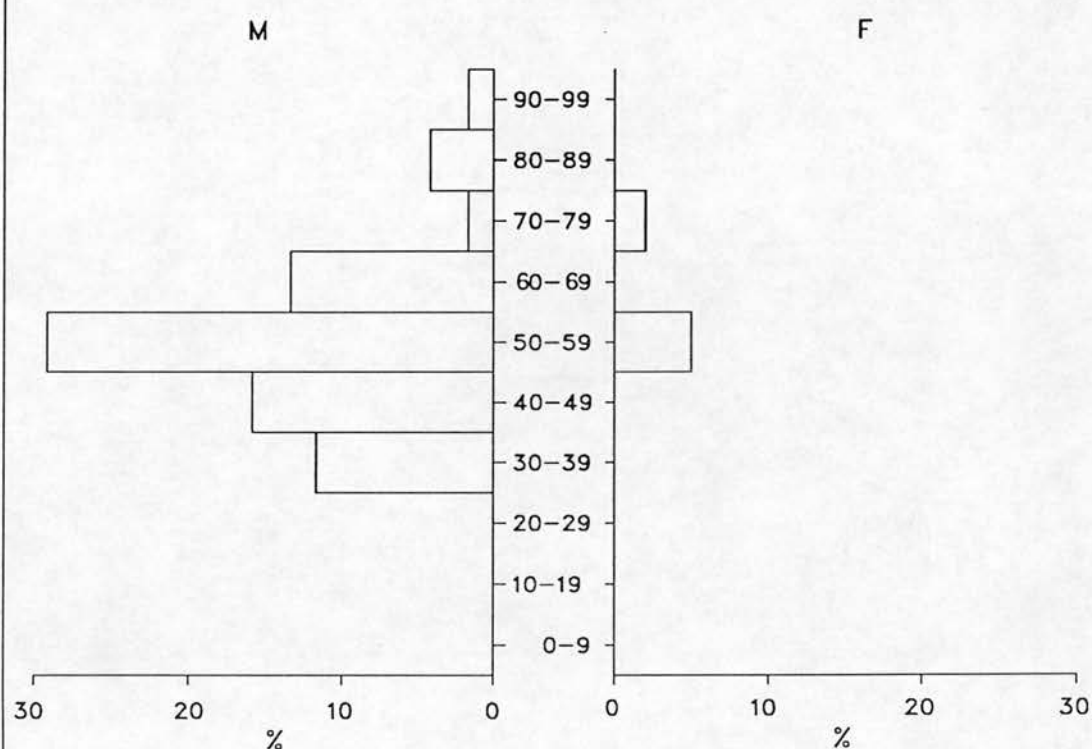


Appendix V

Age:sex structure of occupational
groups in 1851

Age : sex structure.

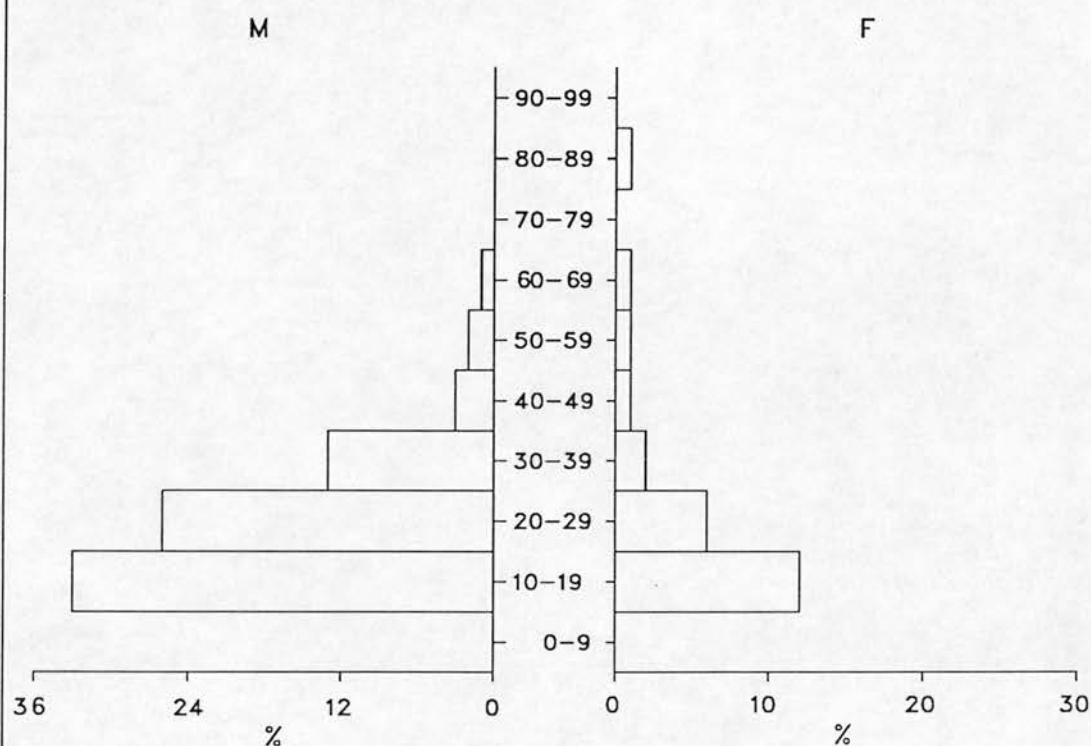
Farmers, 1851



Source: S.R.O., census enumerators' books sample.

Age : sex structure.

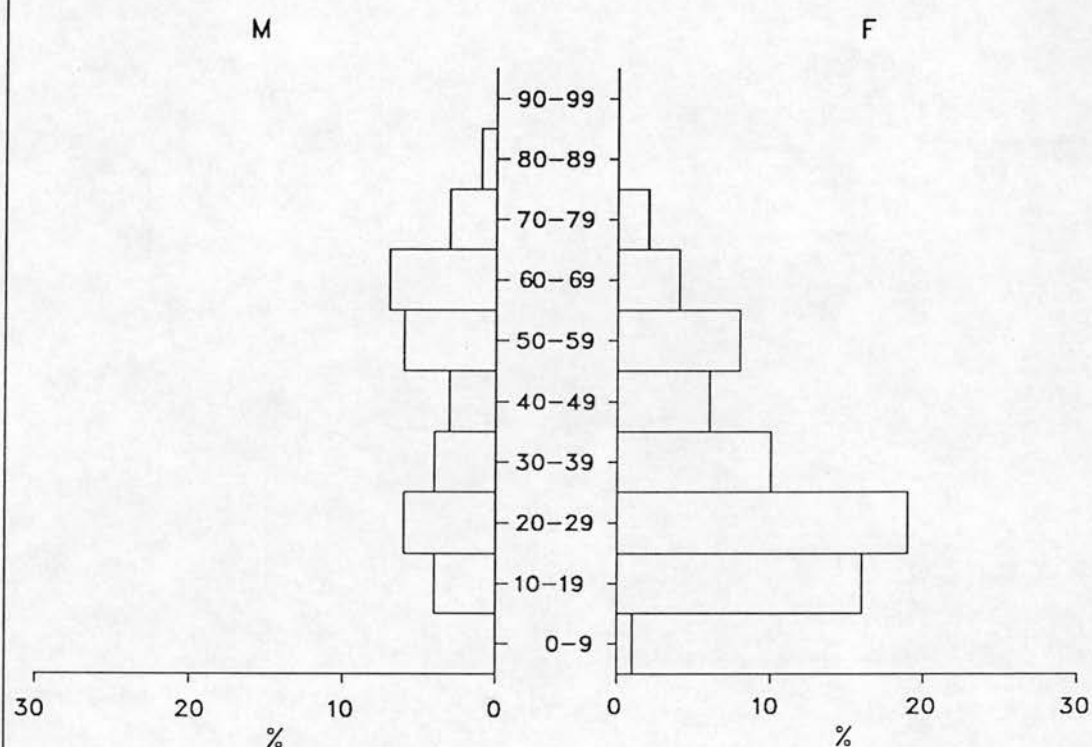
Farm servants, 1851



Source: S.R.O., census enumerators' books sample

Age : sex structure.

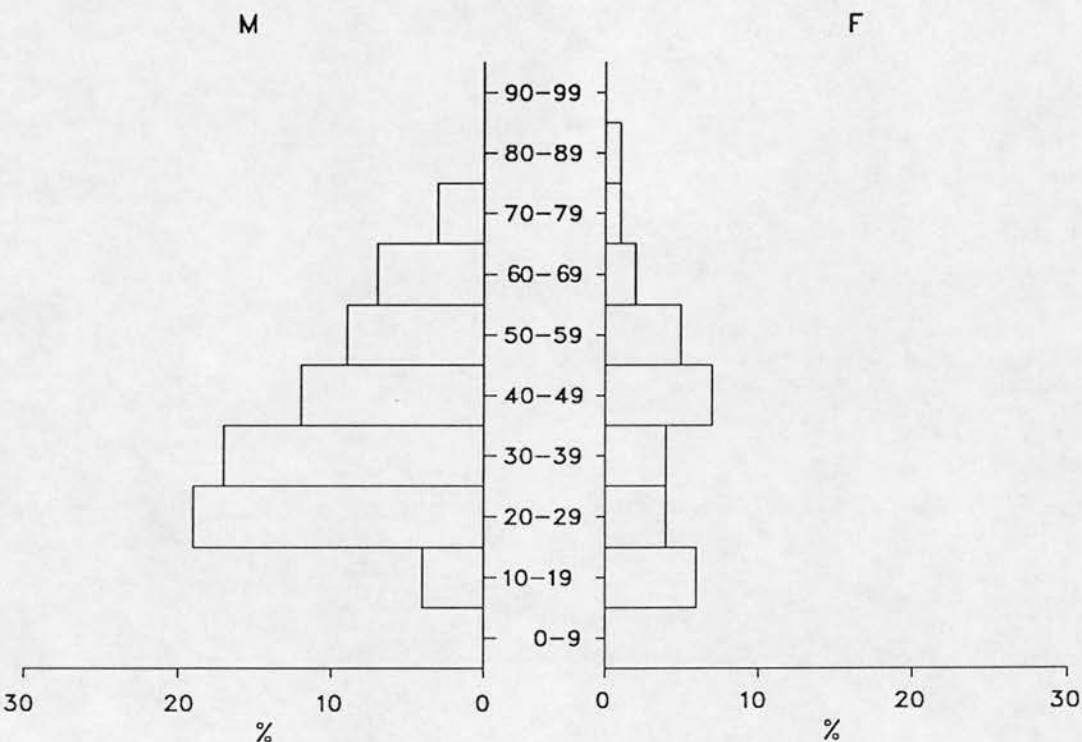
Handloom weavers, 1851



Source: S.R.O., census enumerators' books sample.

Age : sex structure.

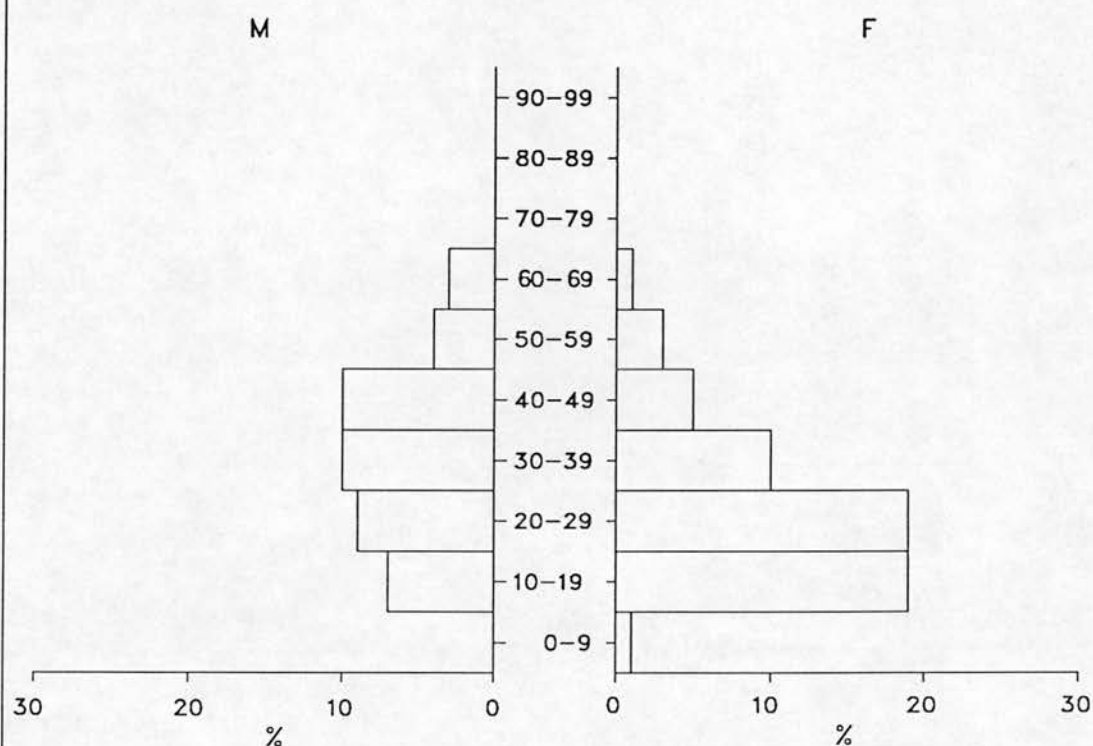
Agricultural labourers, 1851



Source: S.R.O., census enumerators' books sample.

Age : sex structure.

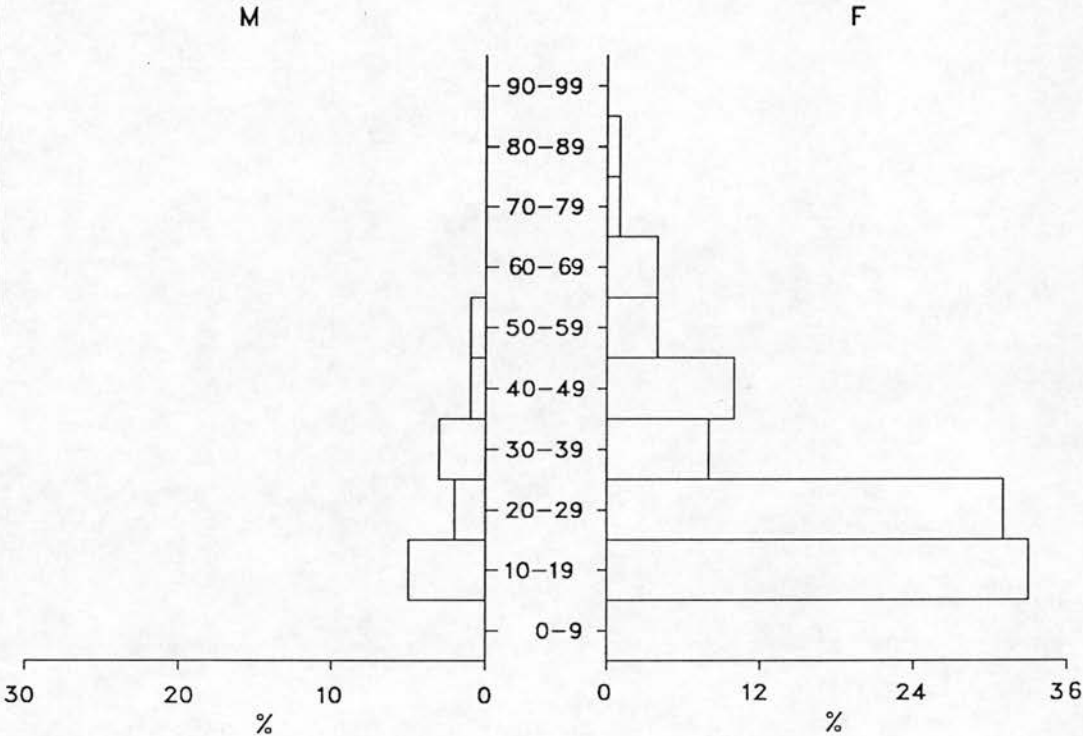
Factory textile workers, 1851



Source: S.R.O., census enumerators' books sample.

Age : sex structure.

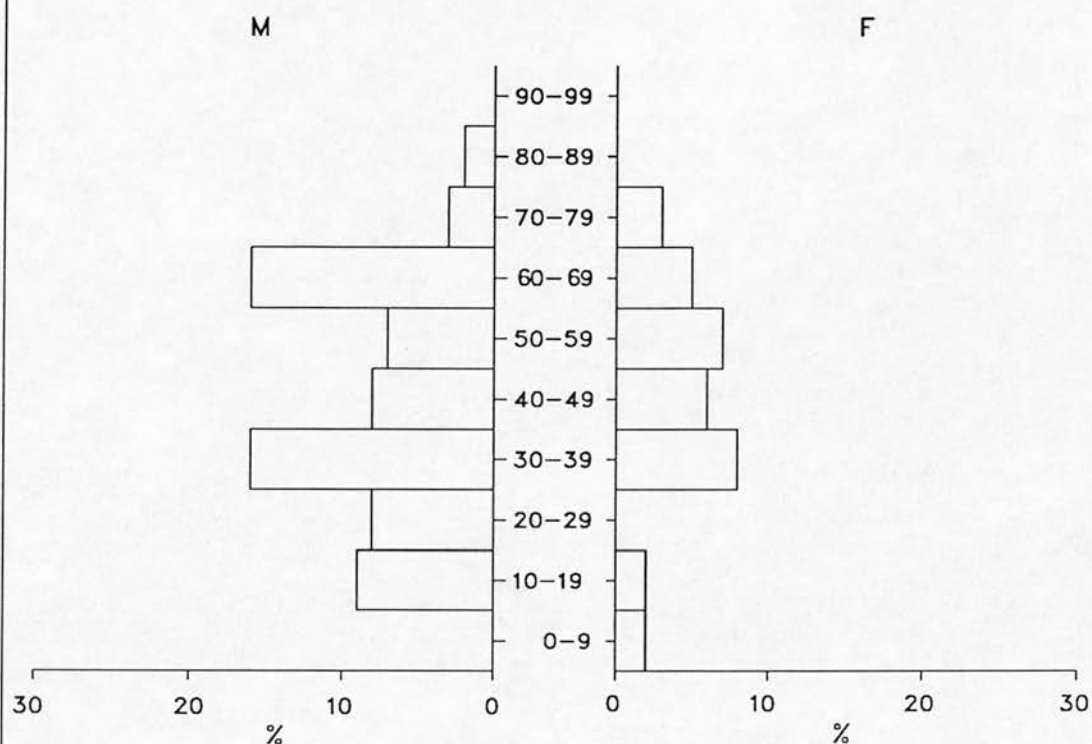
Domestic servants, 1851



Source: S.R.O., census enumerators' books sample.

Age : sex structure.

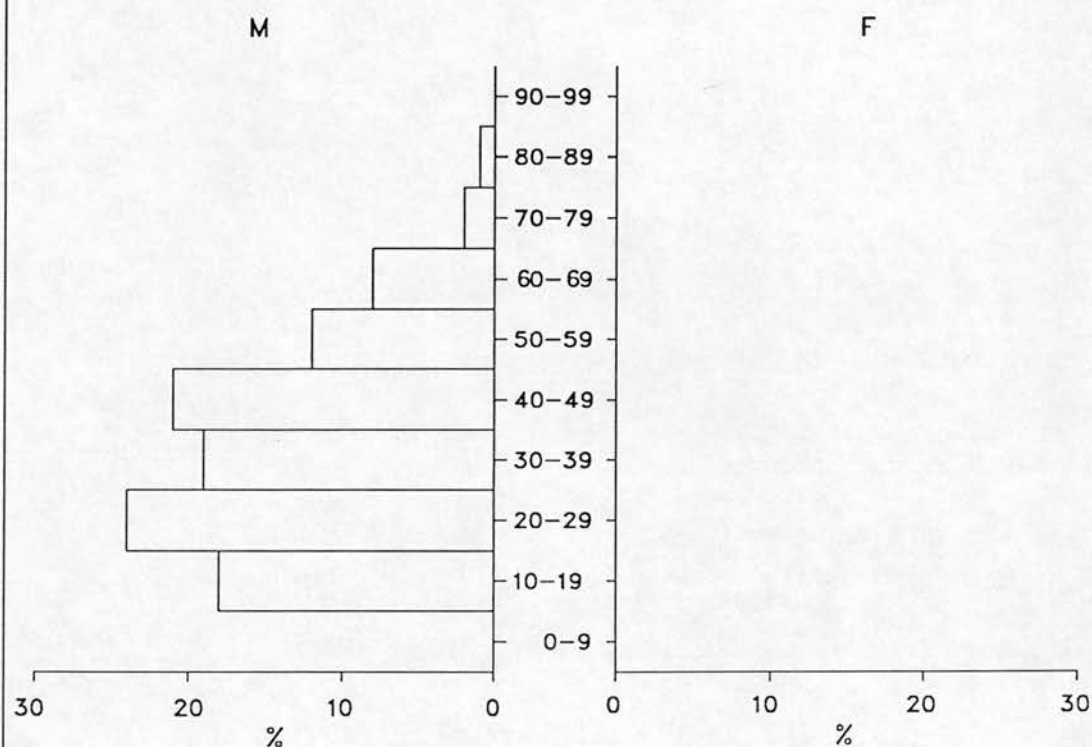
Retailers/merchants, 1851



Source: S.R.O., census enumerators' books sample.

Age : sex structure.

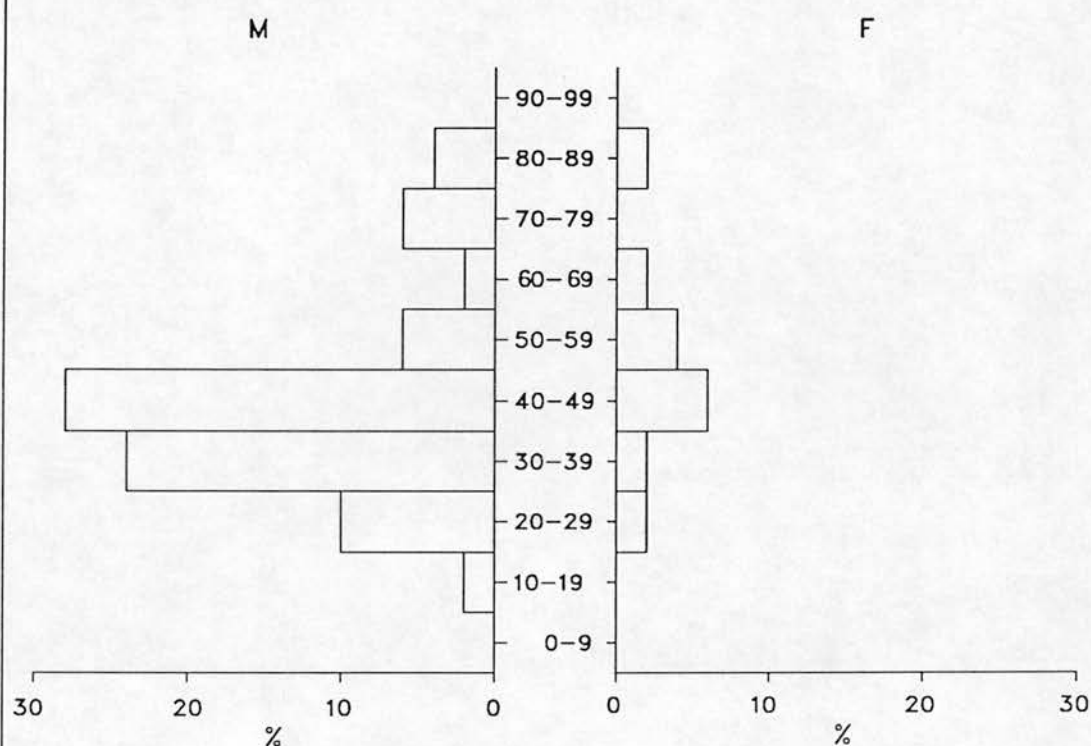
Craftsmen, 1851



Source: S.R.O., census enumerators' books sample.

Age : sex structure.

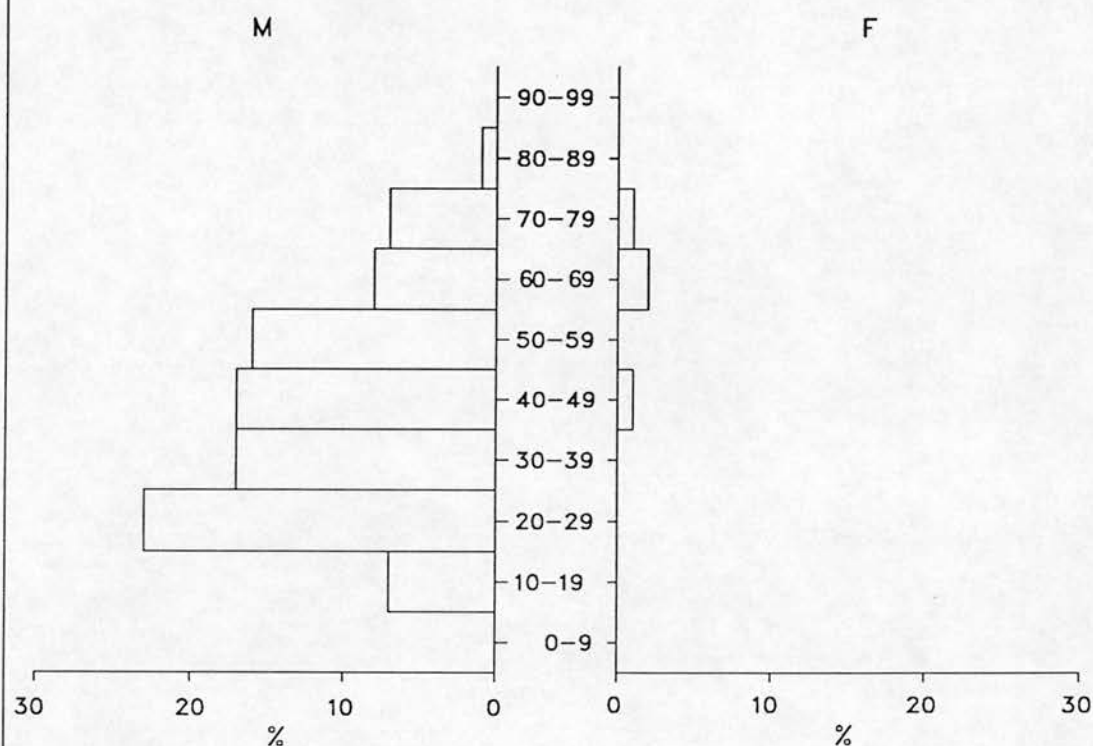
Professionals, 1851



Source: S.R.O, census enumerators' books sample.

Age : sex structure.

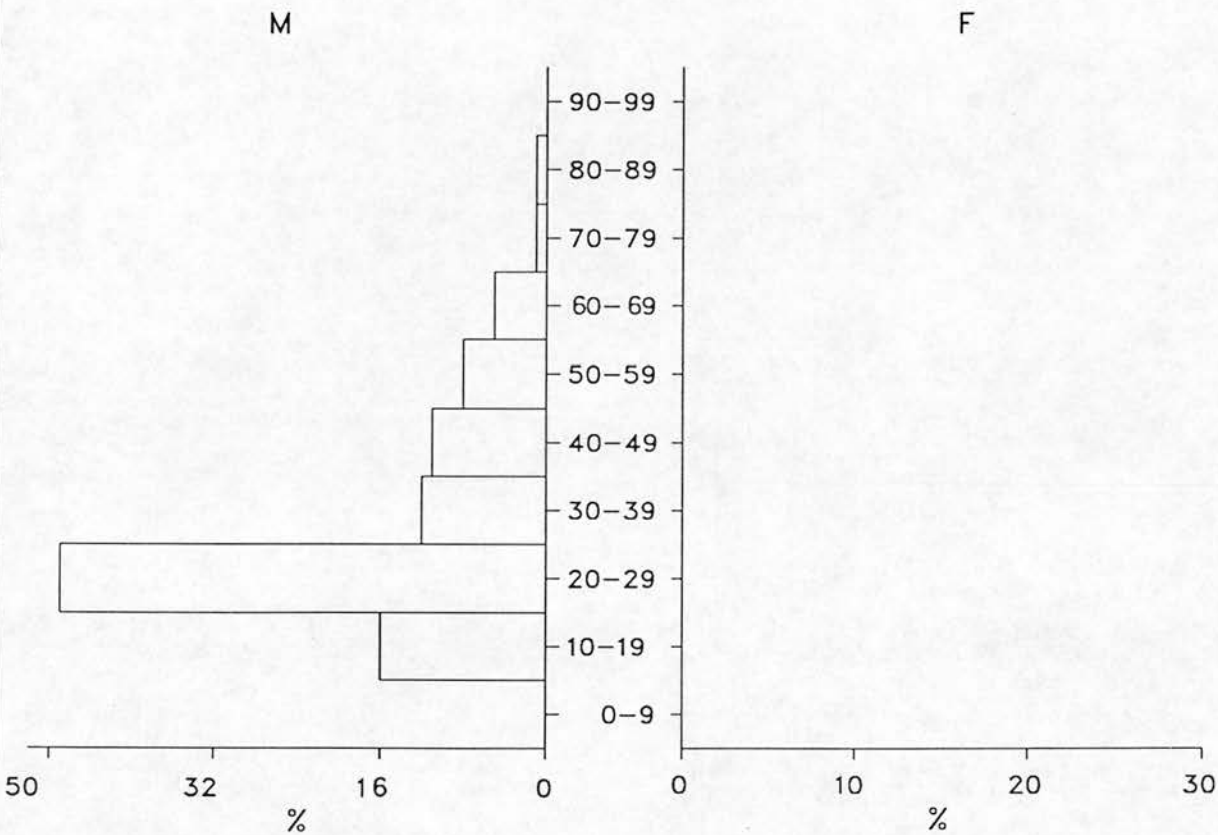
Labourers, 1851



Source: S.R.O., census enumerators' books sample.

Age : sex structure.

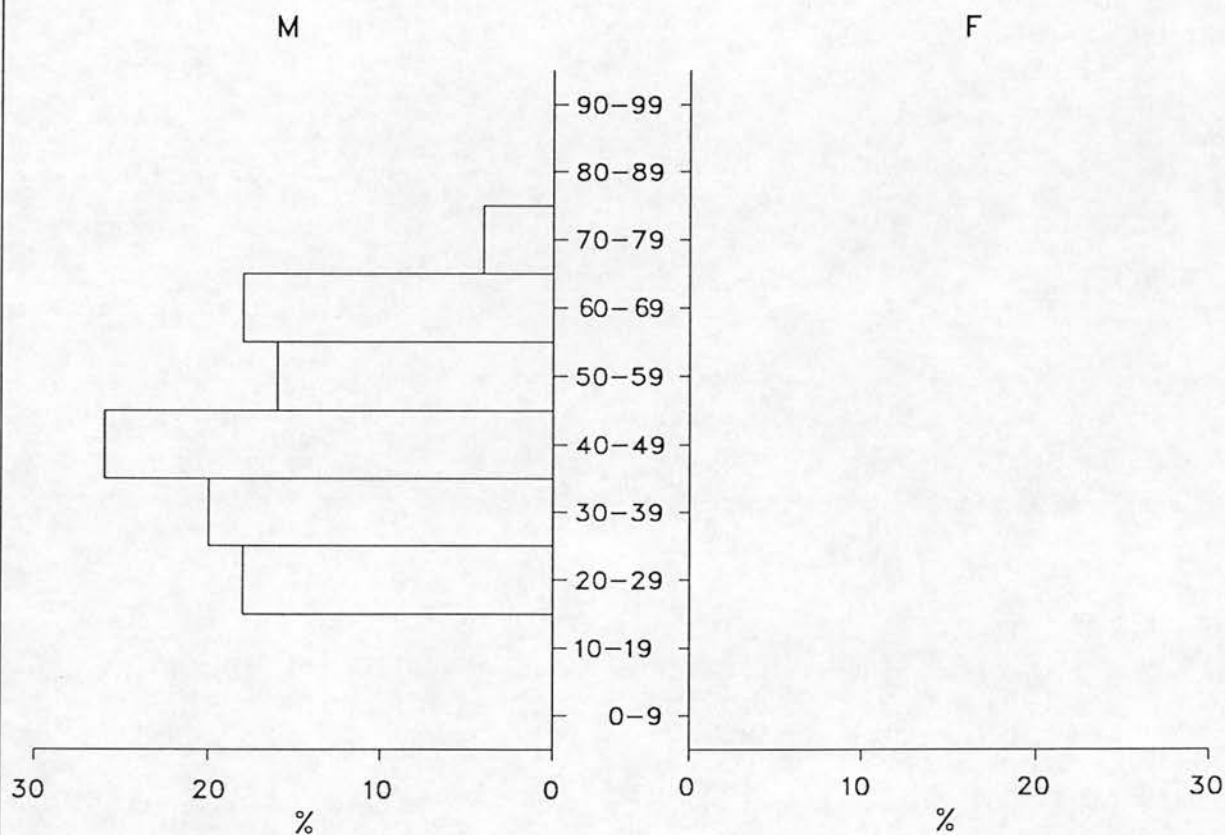
Journeymen tradesmen, 1851



Source: S.R.O., census enumerators' books sample

Age : sex structure.

Master tradesmen, 1851



Source: S.R.O., census enumerators' books sample

Appendix VI

Publications

The following publications, which draw on material presented in this thesis, have been reproduced in this appendix with the permission of the editors of the respective volumes:

Young, C. 1989 "Computer Assisted Mapping of the Credit Fields of Nineteenth Century Rural Tradesmen in Scotland" *History and Computing*, 1(2). pp. 105-11. (edited by R.J. Morris).

Young, C. 1989 "Historical applications of GIMMS and GEOLINK" *GIMMS Newsletter*, 9. pp. 5-6. (edited by M. Ferenth).

Young, C. and Tidswell, D.P. 1990 "Applying GIMMS and GEOLINK to analysis in historical geography" in Harrington, V.P. (ed.) *Proceedings, GIMMS User Conference 1990*. University College, Dublin. pp. 34-47.

Computer-Assisted Mapping of the Credit Fields of Nineteenth-Century Rural Tradesmen in Scotland.¹



Craig Young

While the economic and social implications of the credit linkages of small master tradesmen to merchants and larger manufacturers have been discussed, the investigation of the spatial organisation and flow of such capital has received less attention. This paper shows how GEOLINK, a general purpose interfacing package, and GIMMS, a computer mapping package, are being employed to map the distribution of the locations of trade credit for small craft firms in Lowland Perthshire in the nineteenth century. The importance of urban sites as capital sources and the links of small rural shoemaking firms to the development of the footwear industry are both illustrated.

Introduction

Considering the small master tradesmen of Birmingham Behagg noted that

for any firm the twin questions of 'independence' and 'viability' were determined, to a great extent, by the nature of its credit and marketing facilities [and there was] a pattern of dependency [upon credit] which characterised the small producer proper.²

Langton and Morris stated that

our understanding of capital—its availability, its flows,

Craig Young is a final year Ph.D. student in the Departments of Geography and Economic and Social History, at Edinburgh University. He is currently completing his thesis on rural tradesmen in Scotland, c.1780–c.1900, which involves various computing applications.

its cost—is ... difficult to organise in spatial terms ... What should be mapped? ... did liquidity and credit availability have a spatial aspect ... and how efficient were the mechanisms linking spatial variations in demand for and supply of capital?³

In this paper I wish to outline how computer assisted mapping is being employed to analyse the spatial aspects of the credit linkages of rural tradesmen in Scotland.

Scottish Sequestrations

The data source employed for this purpose is known as Scottish Sequestrations. These exist for Scotland for the period between 1795 and 1914, but the series considered here represents the period 1856 to 1914.⁴ As these are records of firms which went bankrupt and ended up in this record, it is important to assess the representativeness of this source. From an examination of the assets and liabilities of these firms it appears that the firms represented here were of a small-medium size in terms of capital. Neither the very large nor the very small firms are represented here as these were usually dealt with by other legal processes.⁵ The data which is being mapped is in the form of a list of creditors of the firm, which gives the name, location, and occupation of the creditor, and the amount of the liability. There is the possibility that this information may have been falsified by a dishonest bankrupt, but the legal powers of the trustee of the estate were such as to allow him to obtain the clearest picture possible. In addition it was not in the interests of the creditors to accept a

settlement they thought was based on false information. The fact that these were firms that became bankrupt may have distorted the data, but there is evidence that many firms continued for years in an illiquid state. Thus though the source must be used with care, and each case examined individually, it would seem that this is a viable record of the business activities of a certain stratum of firms, and can be used to illustrate the credit linkages of small-scale production.

Why Computer Mapping?

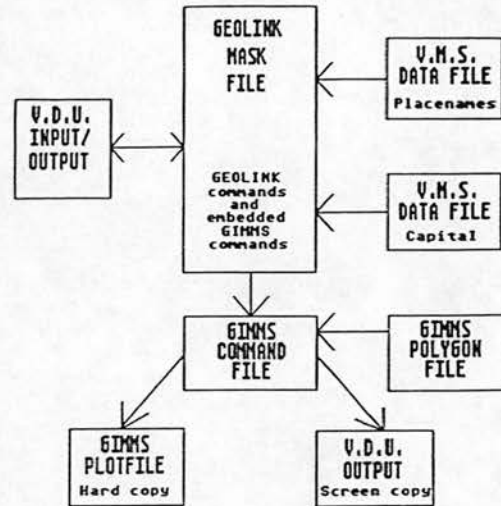
Having obtained a suitable data set it was decided to employ computer assisted mapping, utilising the GIMMS mapping package, as a tool for the rapid production of a series of maps displaying the sources of capital for individual firms, and the amount of capital from each location. Though the maps produced could have been compiled by traditional cartographic methods, computer mapping was chosen for a number of reasons.

- 1) The maps are repetitive in their use of locational features such as coastlines and towns.
- 2) Proportional point symbolism representing the amount of credit from one source could be automatically calculated.
- 3) The geographical coverage of the maps varied considerably, but GIMMS could be used to draw maps of different scale and coverage from one polygon file.
- 4) The availability of a polygon file of the United Kingdom, and of a data set of place names located on the national grid, both of which already existed, negated the need for time consuming digitising and preparation of data.⁶
- 5) These features mean that map production is rapid, which is important when trying to establish a picture from a number of individual cases. V.D.U. displays and screen dumps are alternative outputs, and map design is simplified by the use of the GEOLINK interface.

GIMMS Mapping and the GEOLINK Interface

Computer-assisted mapping was carried out in a VMS environment on a VAX 11/750 (though the software used is also available for PCs). Figure 1 illustrates the process of producing a map. This

Figure 1. Structure of map production.



involves running a GEOLINK mask file, a command file which the user develops to fit his or her own particular needs. This interfacing package combines input from three sources to produce a GIMMS command file. The program prompts the user for certain input from the terminal, and combines his or her responses with 1) GIMMS commands which are the same for every map and which are embedded in the mask file, and 2) data selected from data files which varies from map to map. The resulting GIMMS command file is submitted automatically, either to produce a plot file or a screen display, and it combines the point data located on the national grid, with the polygon file of the United Kingdom, to produce a proportional point map.

Figure 2 shows the series of screens which prompt the user at the terminal to input the parameters which change with each map run. Firstly plotter or terminal output is selected. Then the map origin and scale are specified. Thirdly the map wanted is selected by entering the appropriate code number for that data set, and the option of having the credit sources named on the map is given. If selected the names are also output to the terminal. Then the data read by GEOLINK to



Figure 2. GEOLINK screens for map production.

<div style="text-align: right;">1</div> <pre> ***** Hello Craig, welcome to CRAFTMAP. ***** PLOTTER OR TERMINAL OUTPUT?:terminal </pre>	<div style="text-align: right;">2</div> <pre> ***** DEFINE MAP ORIGIN AND SCALE ***** Default values give map of Scotland, 0,0 for U.K. GIVE ORIGIN IN NAT GRID(X)? (def is 500):2550 GIVE ORIGIN IN NAT GRID(Y)? (def is 5000):6400 Default value for Scotland, 0.0027 for U.K. GIVE SCALE FACTOR (default is 0.0025):0.015 </pre>
<div style="text-align: right;">3</div> <pre> ***** SPECIFY WHICH MAP TO DRAW ***** PLEASE ENTER DATA CODE NUMBER:CS1S/SSR MAP IS OF: George-MacFarlane-clothier-Coupar-Angus-1862. NAME MAP LOCATIONS?:Y PLACENAMES ***** Perth Flowerdale Burreilton Glasgow Coupar-Angus Woodside Edinburgh </pre>	<div style="text-align: right;">4</div> <pre> *** CAUTION: if MLOC is less than 6400 then point is off map *** Data read: MLOC: MLOC: LEVEL ***** 3118 7330 4. 3130 7320 1. 3200 7370 1. 2530 6650 1. 3220 7400 1. 3018 7330 2. 3200 6742 1. RESTART MASK FILE? (default is N): </pre>

produce the point symbolism is also read to the terminal, and finally the user is prompted as to whether another map run is required. Thus with answers to six questions at the terminal, the map is designed and produced on the plotter or terminal screen, whilst information is supplied to the user to check the progress of the mapping run.

Figure 3a shows a part of the GEOLINK mask file to show how input from the terminal, data files and embedded GIMMS commands are combined to produce a GIMMS command file. In this section the user is asked if the names of the locations are required. If the answer is yes, then the loop opens the data file and finds the required parcel of data which is marked by the code previously entered from the screen. It then reads the X and Y coordinates and the names, until the dummy variable 99999 is read at which point the loop is exited from and the mask file continues with other tasks.

Using substitution variables within an embedded GIMMS *TEXT command allows the production of a series of *TEXT commands which write the placenames at the appropriate map locations. Figure 3b shows a part of the GIMMS command file produced by the mask file, and the *TEXT commands shown were produced by the loop in the GEOLINK file entering the X and Y coordinates and the placename until the loop was exited.

In a similar fashion the title and other text and design features are automatically incorporated into the GIMMS command file and hence the map. Thus map production is extremely rapid, and a number of repetitive maps can be easily produced without constant manual editing of command files.

Figure 3a. Section of the GEOLINK mask file.

```

!CM
!CM
!QU "NAME MAP LOCATIONS?:" NAM      <put question to terminal>
!PR
!IF NAM YES Y yes y                  <IF statement if answer is Y>
!PR
!PR PLACENAMES                       <print line to terminal>
!PR =====
!PR
!NE SPOOL CRNAMES.DAT                <open data file>
!DE X Y NAME                         <declare variables>
!FI !CODE                           <find the required data>
!SK
!BL
!RE !X !Y !NAME                      <begin loop>
!IF X 99999                          <read variables>
!EX                                  <if data = 99999>
!EI                                  <then exit>
!PR !NAME                            <print data read to terminal>
      *TEXT MAPUNITS !X !Y REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' !NAME' <embedded GIMMS command>
!EL
!EI
!CL CRNAMES.DAT                     <close data file>
!CM
!CM

```

Figure 3b. Resulting section of GIMMS command file.

```

SNEWGIMMS
.
.
.
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3520 7360 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Newdownie'    <*TEXT commands>
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3360 7320 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Dundee'        <generated by >
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3220 7400 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Coupar-Angus'   <GEOLINK loop >
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3260 6740 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Edinburgh'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 2580 6650 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Glasgow'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3110 7230 REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' Perth'
.
.
*DRAWMAP FILE=11
.
*END
*STOP

```

Spatial Patterns of Credit Linkages

Referring back to the opening quotations there is plenty of evidence to show that these firms had considerable credit linkages to merchants and manufacturers. As Norman Chapman, a watch-maker in Aberfeldy, stated in 1899,

I may explain that I had always to get my goods on credit not having sufficient capital to meet claims when they fell due.⁷

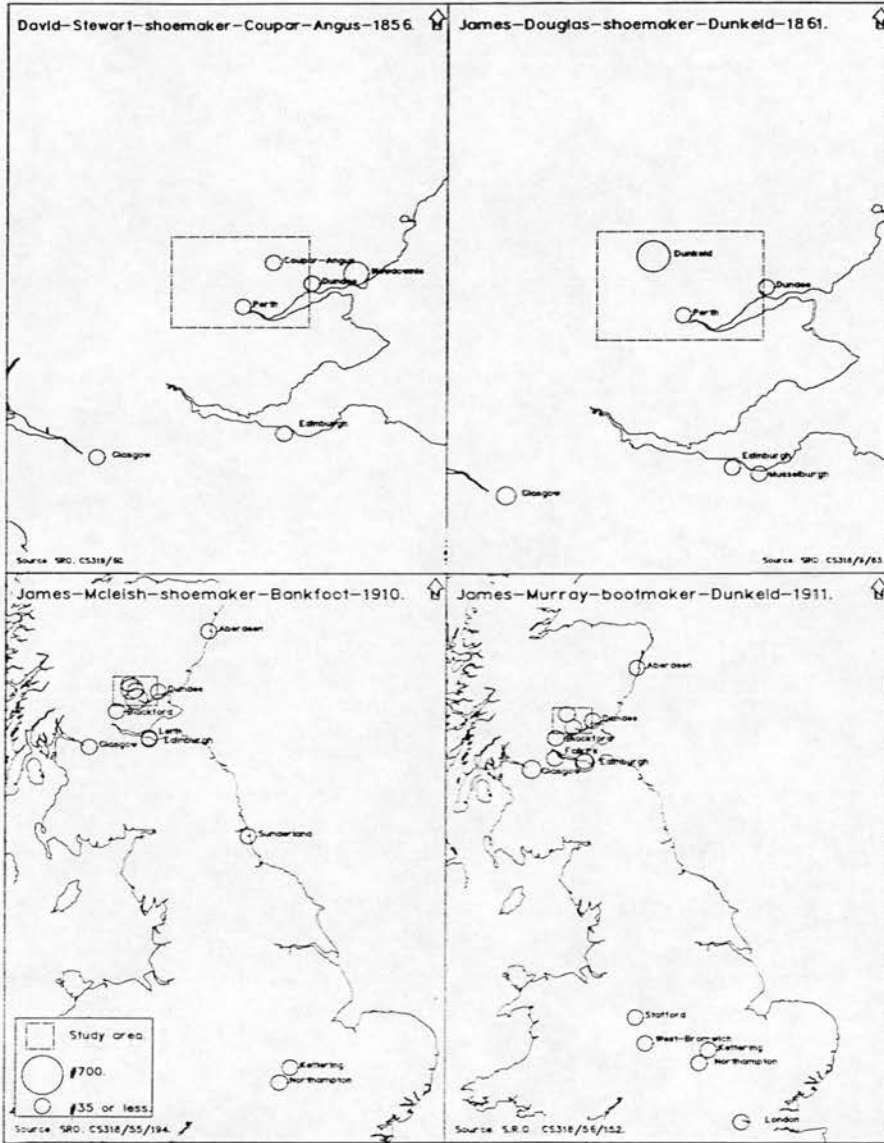
Once these credit linkages were established they were potential constraints on the viability of these

firms. Merchants could cause bankruptcy by demanding repayment, or establish their own control on production or retailing, as in the case of McCall and Son, merchants in Comrie, who stated

In 1865 a bill of Crays Brothers of Edinburgh for £161 then became due and we could not raise the funds to retire it . . . Then they sent a man, Mr. Brunton, to take stock of the firm . . . After said inventory was taken Brunton remained and sold and took charge of the drawings from sales at the shop.⁸

Referring to the problem of addressing the spatial organisation of capital, it is possible, using this

Figure 4. Capital sources of shoemaking firms.



source and this method, to map the locations of the sources of trade credit, i.e. the locations from which goods have been transported and to which money was owed in payment. As an example we can examine the sources of trade credit of the small scale shoemaking craft businesses of Lowland Perthshire. Figure 4 illustrates the distribution of the locations of trade credit for four of the shoemaking businesses in this area.

The maps show three general features of the distribution of credit provision. In each case there is some credit or capital supplied from the same location as the business. This tended to be small in amount, and consisted of goods or services from local tradesmen.

The second pattern is that of connections to the main Scottish urban and manufacturing centres. Most firms have connections to Edinburgh, Leith, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, Perth, and also smaller manufacturing towns such as Musselburgh, Lochee and Kirkcaldy. The more local sites of Perth, Coupar Angus and Crieff all had tanneries and more contact with these may have been expected. However, the tanning and shoemaking trades of Perth had been severely restricted by the excise laws of the early nineteenth century, which also caused the stoppage of many of the local tanneries, and this caused a swing from manufacturing to retailing by 1836.⁹ By contrast, the hide markets of Scotland were located in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen, and by 1869 Edinburgh and its surrounding area were the main site of the leather industry. With the introduction of machinery into footwear production, Edinburgh became the site of the largest factory in Scotland.¹⁰

The third pattern appears to become more obvious by the early twentieth century, as more credit sources appear in the English Midlands. This changing pattern does not seem to be influenced by the size of the firms, but instead would seem to mirror the development of the shoemaking industry nationally. The sites which are represented here, such as Leeds, London, Bristol, Kettering, Birmingham and Stafford, were among the first in Britain to begin to produce leather footwear for more than just local demand.¹¹ In particular, Northamptonshire and Leicestershire were the sites of increasing geographical

concentration of footwear production, and factory production was firmly established in these areas by the 1880s.¹² By 1911 these two counties contained over half the country's footwear manufacturing industry. Cameron¹³ has noted how the rural shoemakers of north-east Scotland in the early twentieth century began stocking factory produced footwear rather than making their own, and thus the increasing reliance on trade credit from the Midlands shoe manufacturers would be consistent with national developments in the industry.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it appears that computer-assisted mapping is a useful tool for the investigation of the origins of trade credit for small-scale production. The connection of rural producers to urban and manufacturing centres is highlighted in the case of the shoemaking industry. There appears also to be a shift through time of the location of the sources of trade credit, which is consistent with the overall development of the industry. These are only the results of initial analysis presented here. More work needs to be carried out, such as identifying other sources, obtaining larger data sets, and analysing the patterns of different sectors. This may then lead to an analysis of the movement of one type of capital provision over space, in which computer assisted mapping could play an important role.

Notes

¹ A previous draft of this paper was presented at the IVth International Congress of the Association for History and Computing, Bordeaux, September 1989. I would like to acknowledge the support of the Department of Geography, University of Edinburgh, and GIMMS Ltd., in attending the conference.

² C. Behagg, 'Masters and manufacturers: social values and the smaller unit of production in Birmingham, 1800-50', in G. Crossick and H.-G. Haupt (eds.), *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth Century Europe* (London, 1984).

³ J. Langton and R. J. Morris (eds.), *Atlas of Industrialising Britain, 1780-1914* (London, 1986).

⁴ Scottish Record Office, *Concluded sequestration processes brought under the 1856 Bankruptcy (Scotland) Act, CS318 and CS319*.

⁵ See R. Rodger, 'Business Failure in Scotland, 1839-1913', *Business History*, 27 (1985).

⁶ I would like to acknowledge previous work by David Gray and David Tidswell in this respect, and thank them for access to this material.

⁷ S.R.O., CS318/46/59.

⁸ S.R.O., CS318/13/236.

⁹ G. Penny, *Traditions of Perth* (Perth, 1836).

¹⁰ D. Bremner, *The Industries of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1869).

¹¹ P. R. Mounfield, 'Leather footwear', in J. Langton and R.

J. Morris, *Atlas of Industrialising Britain, 1780-1914* (London, 1986).

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ D. K. Cameron, *The Ballad and the Plough* (London, 1987).



HISTORICAL APPLICATIONS OF GIMMS AND GEOLINK

Craig Young
Department of Geography
University of Edinburgh
Scotland, UK

This article is a précis of a paper presented at the Association for History and Computing Annual Conference in Bordeaux, France in September 1989.

The theme of the conference reflected the overall aims of the Association, which is concerned with the advancement of the use of computers in teaching and researching history. Contributors attended from North America, Scandinavia and Europe, and papers were presented in a number of languages. The use of databases was the dominant topic, but other sessions ran on education, specialized software, textual analysis and record linkage.

The paper presented by me was on the use of GIMMS and GEOLINK packages in an investigation of the spatial availability of trade credit for small scale craft firms in nineteenth century Perthshire.

The source used as a basis for the maps was sequestration or bankruptcy records. ⁽¹⁾ As with the use of any historical source, it is vitally important to assess the cultural background of the source in order to determine what the data represents. This is a vital component of historical analysis, but one which is perhaps in danger of being obscured by the increasing use of computers. Due mainly to the operation of alternative legal processes, the sequestrations only provide information about a certain strata of firms, those of small-medium size, in terms of the amount of capital they employed.

The reasons behind the choice of computer mapping, and the full process of map production are outlined elsewhere. ⁽²⁾ It is intended here, however, to focus more on the advantages of employing the GEOLINK general purpose interfacing package to assist in the rapid production of a series of maps suitable for analysis. Running a GEOLINK mask file, (a command file which the user develops to suit his/her particular requirements) it is possible to combine input from three different sources to produce a GIMMS command file. GEOLINK prompts the user for certain input from the terminal, and combines his/her responses with:

- (i) GIMMS commands which are embedded in the mask file (these are the same for every map), and
- (ii) data which changes from map to map (selected from data files).

The resulting GIMMS command file is executed automatically to produce a plot file or a screen display. It combines point data, located on the national grid, with a polygon file of the United Kingdom to produce a proportional point map.

Map production is therefore reduced to a process of answering six questions in response to prompts presented on the terminal screen. These prompts give the option of terminal or plotter output, define the map origin and scale, control the reading of data from the data files, and then offer the choice of producing another map. As an example, Figure 1 shows the GEOLINK screen which will query the user about the map origin and scale. The GEOLINK commands used to produce this screen and combine the answers are listed in Figure 2.

***** DEFINE MAP ORIGIN AND SCALE *****

Default values give map of Scotland, 0.0 for U.K.

GIVE ORIGIN IN NAT GRID(X)? (def is 500): 2550

GIVE ORIGIN IN NAT GRID(Y)? (def is 5000): 6400

Default value for Scotland, 0.0027 for U.K.

GIVE SCALE FACTOR (default is 0.0039): 0.015

Figure 1

```

Section of GEOLINK mask file.
-----
:CM                               <GEOLINK comment>
:CM Define origin of map.
:CM
:CM                               <prints output to terminal>
:PR                               ***** DEFINE MAP ORIGIN AND SCALE *****
:PR
:PR Default values give map of Scotland, 0.0 for U.K.
:PR
:PR GIVE ORIGIN IN NAT GRID(X)? (def is 500):"  KNAT <prompts user>
:PR
:PR GIVE ORIGIN IN NAT GRID(Y)? (def is 5000):"  YNAT
:PR
:PR Default value for Scotland, 0.0027 for U.K.
:PR
:PR GIVE SCALE FACTOR (default is 0.0039):"  SCAL
:CM
:IF KNAT ""                               <IF statement - if default then>
:SV KNAT 500                               <substitution variables which >
:EI                                         <combine the user input with >
:CM                                         <the GIMMS commands >
:IF YNAT ""
:SV YNAT 5000
:EI
:IF SCAL ""
:SV SCAL 0.0039
:EI
:CM
:SCALE FACTOR=SCAL                       <rebedded GIMMS commands with>
*ORIGIN 2 2 MAP=KNAT YNAT                <substitution variables which >
                                           <combine the user input with >
                                           <the GIMMS commands >

```

Figure 2

The maps produced show spatial patterns of capital availability in the nineteenth century. An analysis of the capital sources of small scale shoemaking firms revealed the importance of urban mercantile and manufacturing capital for rural production. In particular, as the century progressed, the spatial availability of capital changed as the shoemaking industry became increasingly mechanised and geographically concentrated in the English Midlands. In response, rural shoemakers increasingly turned to retailing instead of production.⁽³⁾

An initial analysis of the building trade shows a different pattern. William Lowe, a builder whose business failed in 1882, is representative of the pattern revealed by this source (see Figure 3). Trade credit was supplied from sites in Central Scotland and Fife which were sources of raw materials, such as stone, lime or fire clay. Capital was supplied from many more local sources than for the shoemaking industry, which is consistent with the known characteristics of the building trade at the time as being speculative and localised. This business had survived for twenty years, and failed as a result of long term losses beginning in 1878 associated with the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank.



Figure 3

As these are the results of initial analyses, more work is required to identify other sources, to obtain larger data sets, and to analyse the patterns of different sectors. This may then lead to an analysis of the movement of one type of capital provision over space, in which computer assisted mapping could play an important role.

CONCLUSION

GEOLINK has proved to be a useful package for the rapid production of a series of essentially repetitive maps, utilising common areas of coastline and the same point locations. It can combine with GIMMS to utilise one polygon file for maps of different scale and areal coverage, and access a data file, searching for and reading only the required data. Alternatively, it is possible through GEOLINK, to query the ORACLE DBMS for data. Map production and design is vastly simplified, and the repetitive manual editing of files is avoided. Using a series of easily understood commands it is possible for the user to create an interface which is tailored to their requirements.

REFERENCES

- (1) Scottish Record Office, 'Concluded sequestration processes brought under the 1856 Bankruptcy (Scotland) Act', CS318 and CS319.
- (2) In press. Young, C. 1989 "Computer assisted mapping of the credit fields of nineteenth century rural tradesmen", *History and Computing*, Vol. 1(2).
- (3) *Ibid.*

GEOLINK is a product of GIMMS (GIS) Ltd.

Applying GIMMS and GEOLINK to historical analysis

Craig Young and David Tidswell

Department of Geography, University of Edinburgh
Drummond Street, Edinburgh, EH8 9XP.

Introduction

Recent years have seen a significant increase in the use of computers in historical research. Computerisation of historical studies can be of considerable benefit in terms of increased efficiency in data capture and verification, analysis of data, and display of results. Most computerised historical studies have concentrated on such areas as automating record linkage or using database technologies. Increased speed of analysis and an increase in data volume are two of the obvious benefits of such approaches. However, less attention has been paid to the computerised analysis of spatial patterns through automating the display of historical data. Computer assisted mapping offers an obvious advantage where the research involves the need for rapid production of series of repetitive maps, using the same locational features but with different statistical variables. In addition, the ability to display different geographical areas at different scales using a single locational data file is an advantage.

At Edinburgh University we have been developing user friendly menu systems for the GIMMS mapping package, and to interface GIMMS with the Oracle database, using the GIMMS product GEOLINK. The main aim has been the automation and simplification of the rapid display of spatial historical data for analysis. In this paper we wish to illustrate the process of designing and using GEOLINK menu systems to run GIMMS, and to automate the procedure of importing data from the Oracle database into GIMMS. Examples are drawn from projects concerning the analysis of the credit linkages of small scale rural craft firms in nineteenth century Scotland, a study of regional agricultural labour markets in the early twentieth century, and an investigation of internal migration in the early 1800s.

Using GEOLINK

An example of a menu system developed can be illustrated with reference to the analysis of the credit linkages of rural craft firms. Data was collected from sequestration processes concerning the location of creditors, type of creditor, and the amount of credit supplied. It was wished to map data showing the location of creditors for over eighty firms, producing point symbol maps of varying scales and coverages.

Figure 1 illustrates the process of producing a map. This involves running a GEOLINK mask file, a command file which the user develops to fit his or her own particular needs. This interfacing package combines input from three sources to produce a GIMMS command file. The program prompts the user for certain input from the terminal, and combines his or her responses with 1) GIMMS commands which are the same for every map and which are embedded in the mask file, and 2) data selected from data files which varies from map to map. The resulting GIMMS command file is submitted automatically, either to produce a plot file or a screen display, and it combines the point data located on the national grid, with the polygon file of the United Kingdom, to produce a proportional point map.

Figure 2 shows the series of screens which prompt the user at the terminal to input the parameters which change with each map run. Firstly plotter or terminal output is selected. Then the map origin and scale are specified. Thirdly the map wanted is selected by entering the appropriate code number for that data set, and the option of having the credit sources named on the map is given. If selected the names are also output to the terminal. Then the data read by GEOLINK to produce the point symbolism is also read to the terminal, and finally the user is prompted as to whether another map run is required. Thus by answering

six questions at the terminal, the map is designed and produced on the plotter or terminal screen, whilst information is supplied to the user to check the progress of the mapping run.

Figure 3 shows a part of the GEOLINK mask file to show how input from the terminal, data files and embedded GIMMS commands are combined to produce a GIMMS command file. The GEOLINK commands are those prefixed by an '!'. In this section the user is asked if the names of the locations are required. If the answer is yes, then the loop opens the data file and finds the required parcel of data which is marked by the code previously entered from the screen. It then reads the X and Y coordinates and the names, until the dummy variable 99999 is read at which point the loop is exited from and the mask file continues with other tasks. Using substitution variables within an embedded GIMMS *TEXT command allows the production of a series of *TEXT commands which write the placenames at the appropriate map locations. Figure 4 shows a part of a GIMMS command file produced by the mask file, and the *TEXT commands within the box were produced by the loop in the GEOLINK file entering the X and Y coordinates and the placename until the loop was exited.

In a similar fashion the title and other text and design features are automatically incorporated into the GIMMS command file and hence the map. Thus map production is extremely rapid, and a number of repetitive maps can be easily produced without constant editing of command files. An example map (Figure 4a) is that of the credit linkages of the firm of James Murray, a shoemaker, whose business failed in 1911. The overall analysis has revealed the importance of urban mercantile and manufacturing credit to rural production. James Murray was receiving substantial credit from tanners, leather merchants and shoe manufacturers in the main Scottish cities such as Glasgow, Edinburgh and Leith. An important feature of the spatial availability of credit within the shoemaking sector which developed by the early twentieth century was the increasing reliance on the English Midlands, as shown by this map. The Midlands were the most important site of concentrated and mechanised footwear production by this time. It is clear from this analysis that for this type of firm, credit facilities were related to the industrial location of industry, rather than that of financial institutions.

Another example involves a menu system established to map regional variations in Scottish agriculture in the early twentieth century. Here GIMMS has been used to map indices of crop and stock distribution based on average values for the period 1900-1913 to establish a base year. For example, this map (Figure 5) shows the regional nature of the distribution of cattle, with the mixed farming of the North East, and the dairying areas of the South West highlighted. The GEOLINK menu (Figure 6) allows the datafile, variable and title to be changed using substitution variables for each map, which is then automatically plotted. This is a very simple example, but it has meant that my colleague in Economic and Social History, with whom this project is run jointly, can produce GIMMS maps without having to use either an editor, or the GIMMS system directly. Menu systems make powerful analytical tools available in a much simplified form. This is particularly true of a study of internal migration in Scotland in the 1800s, which involves mapping the results of querying the Oracle database.

Interfacing GIMMS and ORACLE

Research in Scottish internal migration led to the creation of an ORACLE database for over 1000 people who gave statements before magistrates preparing documents for criminal cases. These individuals are referred to as deponents. Their personal information is held in one table while data about the locations they frequented is held in another. A third table draws on the other two and holds information about deponents' movements (Figure 7). The data for each person is not always complete but there are significant groups to compare patterns of movement.

Two types of maps are needed for analysis of this data. First, the previous locations of deponents questioned at any particular location. Second, the previous locations of any particular group. Individuals can be amalgamated into a variety of groups defined by such criteria as sex, nationality, age or occupation, by

producing different ORACLE queries. For example, male farm servants suspected of theft who were questioned in Glasgow could be selected and their locations mapped.

A GEOLINK mask file was used which embeds SQL queries and GIMMS commands. The interaction between these three systems is similar to that shown earlier except for the data input. This is drawn directly from the database rather than a data file which removes an extra step and ensures data integrity. The three tables as well as look-up tables are easily accessed in this structure (Figure 8).

The structure of the mask file differs slightly from that shown earlier. The basic organisation begins with GEOLINK commands and queries (Figure 9). The values and answers given to these will act as substitution variables in both the SQL and GIMMS commands. GEOLINK commands can appear anywhere in the mask file but are separated here to clarify the file structure. ORACLE is accessed through the SQLPLUS command and is queried using the identification numbers to extract a specific group of people. A command file is spooled which will hold GIMMS commands and locational data from a second SQL query. And finally, each system is left in turn.

The GIMMS and GEOLINK commands require specific prefixes to identify them when using the three systems together. For GIMMS commands to carry through from the mask file to the command file they must be preceded by 'PROMPT'. A second point is that GIMMS commands can be embedded in SQL queries when they will be repeated for each line returned by that query. For example, the 'point mapunits' command is returned as a character constant (Figure 10).

The first type of map is produced with a GEOLINK query for the target location needed followed by an SQL query for all the locations frequented by those who ended up at the target location (Figure 11). The SQL query selects the location number and the number of times it occurs from the table called MOVES. It inserts this information into a temporary table which is then updated to set the level (for symbol size in GIMMS) according to the number of times each location occurs. The data file is then spooled and submitted, finally producing the required map (Figure 12).

Mapping location names clearly proves difficult if there are many in one area. This can be resolved by using a window, removing the names of some of the places, or providing a key for some of the place-names. The second type of output is similar but the queries are more complicated and reveal the benefits of the interface. If the movements, or simply the origins, of a particular group are needed the SQL select statement can embed GEOLINK commands and substitution variables as seen previously (Figure 13).

The examples shown here are simple and fulfill the purposes for the research. The combination of the three systems is capable of more complex requirements and should prove useful for a wide range of GIMMS users.

Figure No. 1

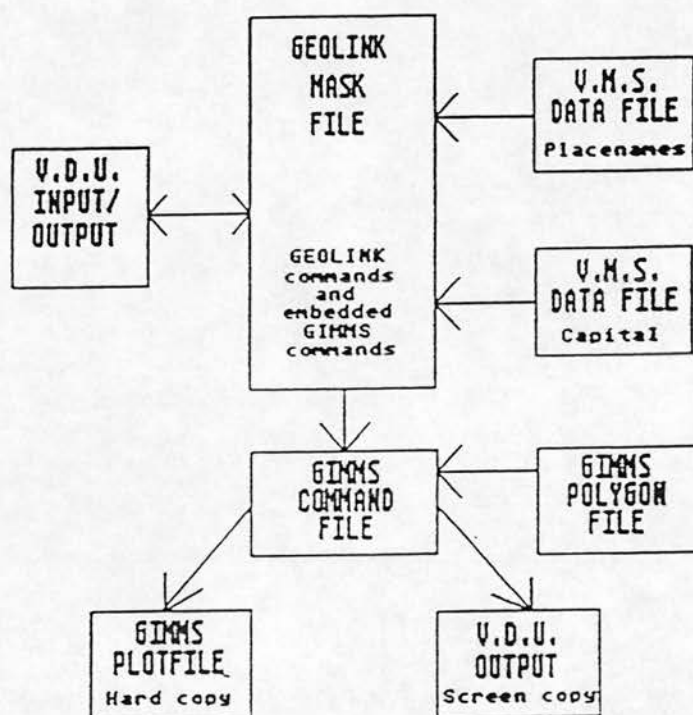


Figure No. 2

<p>1</p> <p>***** Hello Craig, welcome to CRAFTMAP. *****</p> <p>PLOTTER OR TERMINAL OUTPUT?:terminal</p>	<p>2</p> <p>***** DEFINE MAP ORIGIN AND SCALE *****</p> <p>Default values give map of Scotland, 0,0 for U.K.</p> <p>GIVE ORIGIN IN NAT GRID(X)? (def is 500):2550</p> <p>GIVE ORIGIN IN NAT GRID(Y)? (def is 5000):6400</p> <p>Default value for Scotland, 0.0027 for U.K.</p> <p>GIVE SCALE FACTOR (default is 0.0039):0.015</p>
<p>3</p> <p>***** SPECIFY WHICH MAP TO DRAW *****</p> <p>PLEASE ENTER DATA CODE NUMBER:CS319/590</p> <p>MAP IS OF: George-Hofor-lone-clothier-Coupar-Angus-1862.</p> <p>NAME MAP LOCATION:71Y</p> <p>PLACENAMES</p> <p>*****</p> <p>Perth Flowerdale Burreilton Glasgow Coupar-Angus Woodside Edinburgh</p>	<p>4</p> <p>*** CAUTION: if XLOC is less than 6400 then point is off map ***</p> <p>Data read:</p> <p>XLOC: YLOC: LEVEL</p> <p>*****</p> <p>3110 7230 4. 3190 7320 1. 3200 7370 1. 2580 6650 1. 3220 7400 1. 3610 7530 2. 3260 6740 1.</p> <p>RESTART NYSK FILE? (default is n):</p>

Figure No. 3

```

!CM
!CM
!QU "NAME MAP LOCATIONS?:" NAM      <put question to terminal>
!PR
!IF NAM YES Y yes y                  <IF statement if answer is Y>
!PR
!PR PLACENAMES                        <print line to terminal>
!PR =====
!PR
!NE SPOOL CRNAMES.DAT                <open data file>
!DE X Y NAME                          <declare variables>
!FI !CODE                            <find the required data>
!SK
!BL                                  <begin loop>
!RE !X !Y !NAME                      <read variables>
!IF X 99999                          <if data = 99999>
!EX                                  <then exit>
!EI
!PR !NAME                            <print data read to terminal>
  *TEXT MAPUNITS !X !Y REALSIZE HT 0.1 ' !NAME' <embedded GIMMS command>
!EL
!EI                                  <end if>
!CL CRNAMES.DAT                      <close data file>
!CM
!CM

```

Figure No. 4

```

SNEWGIMMS
.
.
.
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3520 7360 REALSIZE HT 0.1 'Newdownie' <*TEXT commands>
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3360 7320 REALSIZE HT 0.1 'Dundee' <generated by >
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3220 7400 REALSIZE HT 0.1 'Coupar-Angus' <GEOLINK loop >
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3260 6740 REALSIZE HT 0.1 'Edinburgh'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 2580 6650 REALSIZE HT 0.1 'Glasgow'
*TEXT MAPUNITS 3110 7230 REALSIZE HT 0.1 'Perth'
.
.
*DRAWMAP FILE=1;
.
*END
*STOP

```

Figure No. 4A

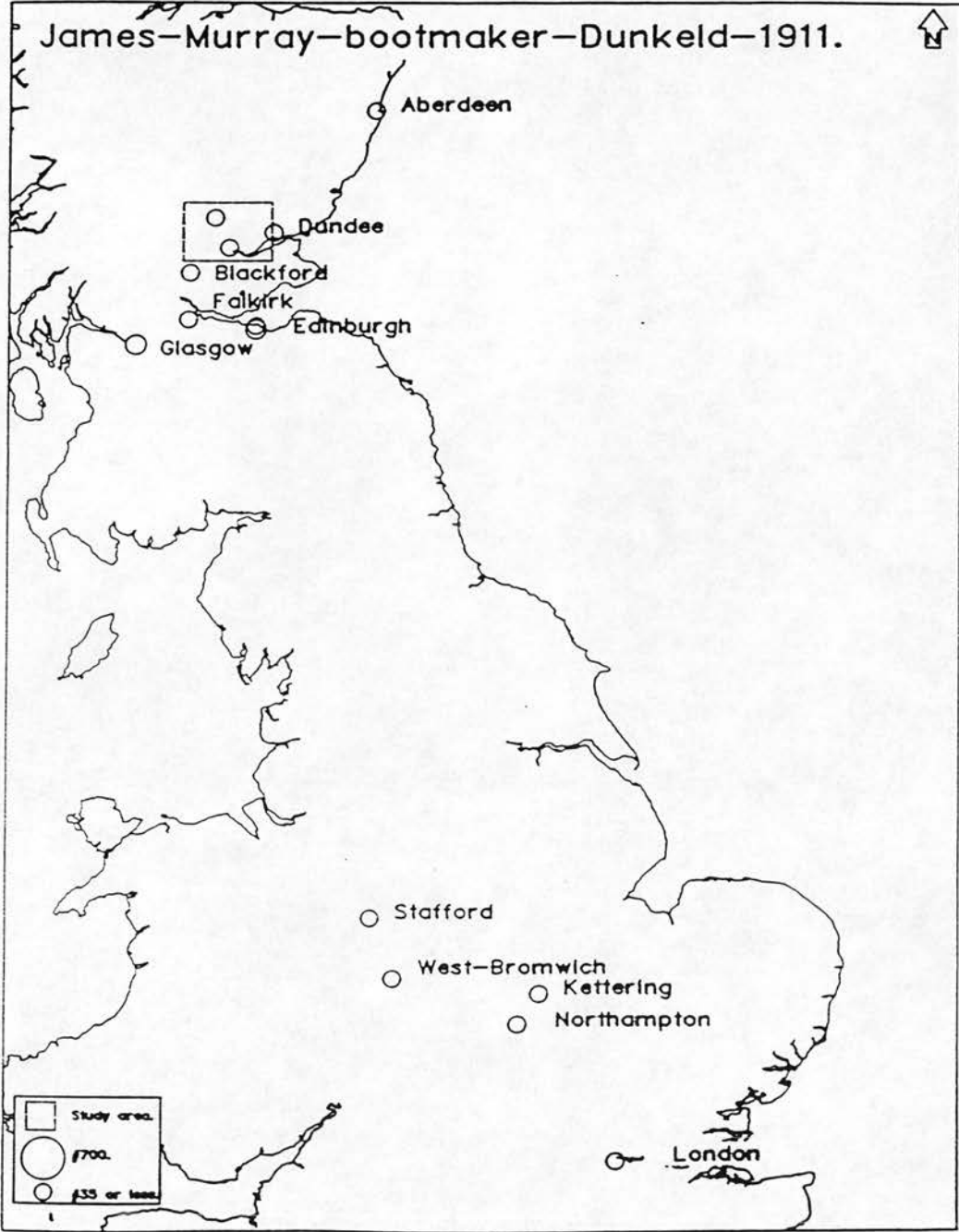


Figure No. 5

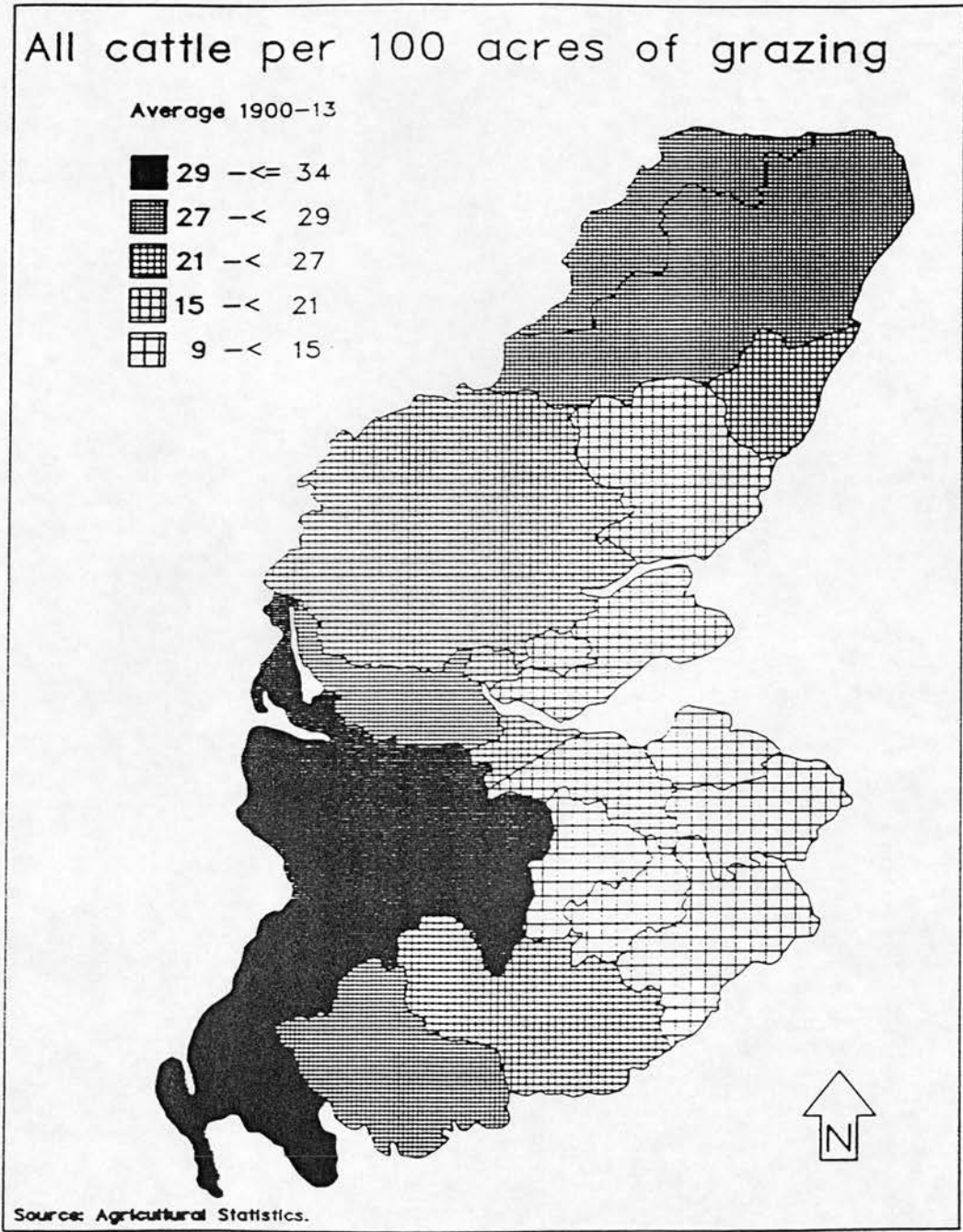


Figure No. 6

*** GEOLINK menu system for agricultural statistics mapping ***

Please enter name of datafile: STOCK.GIM

Please enter variable name: ACATTLE

Please enter the map title: ALL CATTLE PER 100 ACRES OF GRAZING

Figure No. 7

ORACLE TABLES FOR LEGAL RECORDS	
DEPONENTS	LOCATIONS
Individual number	Location number
Location number	Location name
Name	X grid reference
Sex	Y grid reference
Occupation	
Crime	
MOVES	
Individual number	
Location number	
Time at location	
Activity at location	
Stage of migration	

Figure No. 8

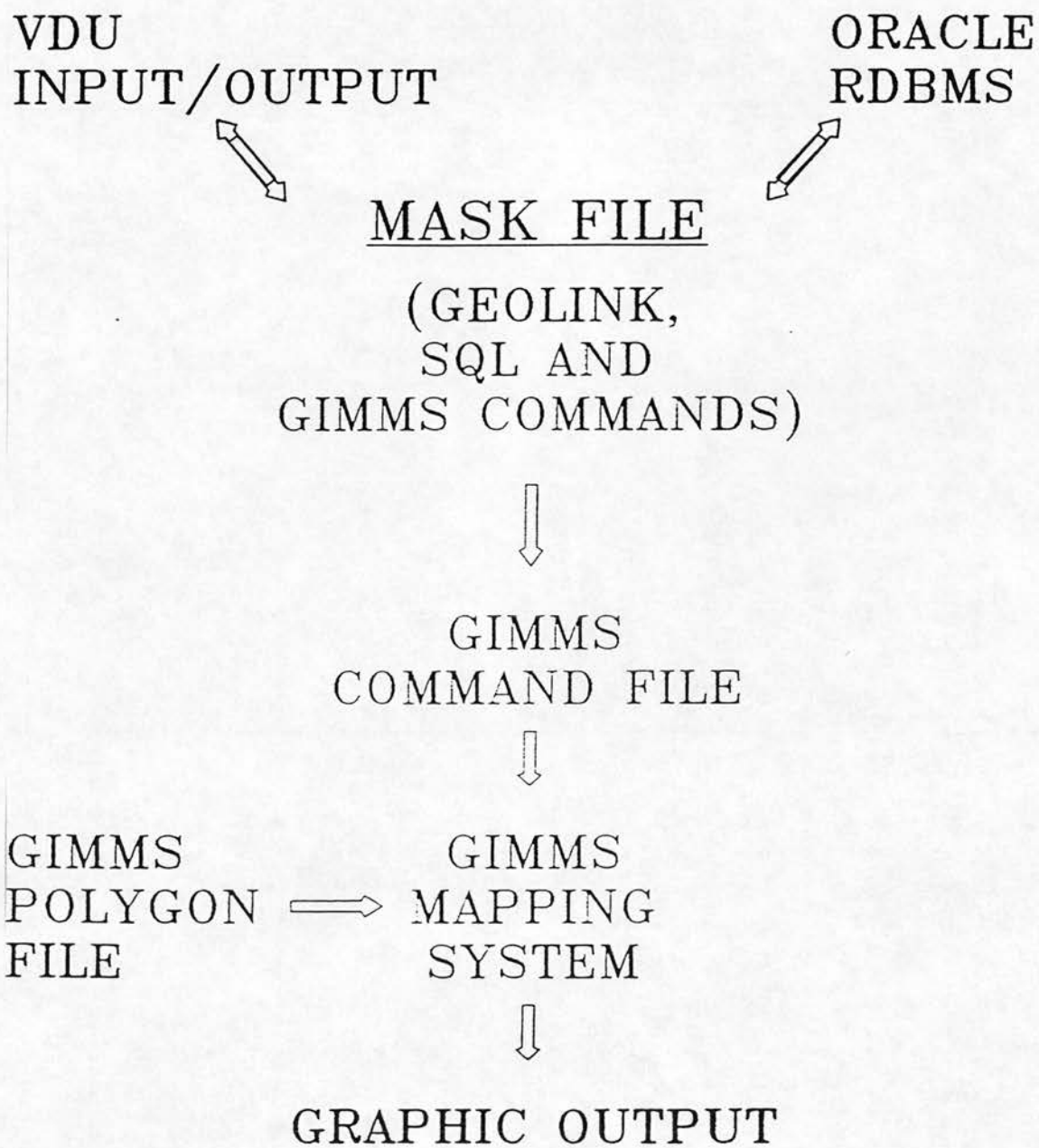


Figure No. 9

```
GEOLINK COMMANDS AND QUERIES

SSQLPLUS      (to access ORACLE)

spool          (start command file)

SNEWGIMMS

query (SQL) (includes character
            constants)

*END          (leave GIMMS)

exit          (leave SQL)

STOP          (leave GEOLINK)
```

Figure No. 10

```
spool map.grun

PROMPT SNEWGIMMS

PROMPT *FILEPARM 11....GIMMS, IN

PROMPT *FILEPARM 19....TEXT, OUT

select *POINT MAPUNITS,

        LOCATIONS.x

        LOCATIONS.y

        LOCTMP.levs

where LOCATIONS.locno = LOCTMP.locno
/

PROMPT *END
PROMPT *STOP

exit

!ST

-----
*POINT MAPUNITS 3100 7330 1
*POINT MAPUNITS 2550 6590 1
*POINT MAPUNITS 3090 7250 2
```

Figure No. 11

```
SSQLPLUS -S DPT/XXXX

!QU "What is the location number? " LOCNO

insert into LOCTMP (count, locno)

select count (MOVES. locno),
        MOVES.locno

from    MOVES, DEPONENTS

where   MOVES.indno = DEPONENTS.indno

and    DEPONENTS:locno = !LOCNO
.
.
.
!EI
```

Figure No. 12



Figure No. 13

